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MARTIN CLOCK BRIGGS
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Martin C. Briggs "Methodist Trumpeter" of California

By Rockwell D. Hunt*

The present paper sets forth certain scenes in the part played by an itinerant preacher, a "circuit rider" – recently called "the Methodist Trumpeter"[1] – in the history of California during the half-century 1850-1902. The Trumpeter's name was Martin Clock Briggs. He was a native of Rome, New York (b. Jan. 23, 1823), and entered the harbor of San Francisco on October 17, 1850, aboard the flag-bedecked *S. S. Oregon*, an item in its cargo being the even more flag-bedecked news of the admission of California into the Union. The state's ultimate admission into the Kingdom of Heaven was to be the chief concern of Briggs.

Up to this time his travels had included a trip to Tennessee. He had gone there primarily to attend his brother's wedding; but for a year and a half afterwards he remained in the south, making a first-hand study of human slavery, in, as he expressed it, "all its moods and tenses, attended all the slave auctions within my reach, conversed freely with the masters. . . ."[2] In other words, he was warming up for future service in behalf of the Union on its western frontier.

By June 1850 we find him graduating from Concord Biblical Institute. Almost immediately thereafter came his commission to proceed to the missionary field in California, upon which he entered, as said above, in October of the same year, accompanied by Samuel D. Simonds and Edward Bannister. Already established as full-time Methodist ministers in California at the end of 1849 were William Taylor in San Francisco and Isaac Owen in Sacramento.[3]

The kind of society Briggs found in the west has been described by many writers. Few have given such an intimate view of it as did the Baptist, O. C. Wheeler, in letters dated from San Francisco the year preceding Briggs' arrival:

> More than fifty thousand souls here need the Gospel, and in ten months that number will be doubled; and there are but five ministers in the territory, if we except those trading, speculating, gold-digging preachers, who violate their ordination vows, disgrace themselves, and bring odium upon the Christian name. . . . If there is *missionary* ground on earth, it is in California.[4]

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*The author knew the subject of this article and his wife personally; it was under Briggs' pastorate at Napa during the 1880's that Doctor Hunt, then a student at Napa College, joined the Methodist Church. [Ed.]

The new arrival was a broad-shouldered man, intellectually and spiritually and physically. According to his own diagnosis of the people he found in San Francisco, he had to be on his mettle on all three of these counts: "Our population was largely made up of men in the full vigor of life, endowed with the highest average intelligence known to history, drawn by mercenary motives and impelled by an energy which seas and mountains and rivers and rocks could not discourage. . . ."[5]

How was this intelligence, this energy, to be directed into paths that would be pleasant and good for the soul and the mind, at the same time that the paths to the placers were filling (or emptying) purses? Two ways were open: (1) to publish a religious journal; and (2) to found a university.

THE CALIFORNIA CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE

As to the first method, shortly after reaching San Francisco Briggs attended a conference in the parlor of the Reverend D. L. Ross. It was there agreed to begin publication of the *California Christian Advocate*, and Briggs was chosen editor, with, at his request, Samuel D. Simonds as co-editor. The first issue was dated October 10, 1851. An idea of the new journal's tenets may be obtained from an item in its issue of February 10, 1854, under the heading "Prospectus":

> The Advocate was commenced about two years ago by ministers and members of the Methodist E. Church in this State, without a dollar of capital, present or prospective, only as its merits should secure public patronage. At the General Conference, held the following day, it was adopted as a member of the family of Advocates which position it yet occupies. . . . From the beginning, the Advocate has sought to unite all good men in efforts to establish the right, regarding more the practical than the theoretical, and showing a willingness to occupy a broad evangelical platform, the better to carry out the great practical aims of the Gospel.

It was a weekly, $5.00 per year by mail or at the office; $6.00 when delivered by carrier; $3.00 for six months.

Within a year after its beginning, Briggs retired from the editorial management of the *Advocate*, but not (as may be judged from his own words) until it had taken to itself some "Trumpeter" qualities: "As I run over the old files, the paper appears to me to have been decidedly audacious. It took the fierce bulls of sin firmly by the horns."

The second method of taking the "bulls of sin" by the horns had begun to take shape on January 6 and 7, 1851, when an educational convention was held in San Jose and those attending recommended the "founding of an institution of the grade of a university." The evening of the seventh, Briggs addressed the convention on the subject of education, in the audience as special guests being members of the legislature. A second conference was held on May 14, 1851. During its proceedings, Briggs was appointed a member of the commission whose duty it was to select, secure, and plot suitable grounds for the university town.[6] By July 10, 1851, sincerity of purpose was evident enough to permit the chartering of "California Wesleyan College," the institution's temporary name, at Santa Clara, and, on May 3, 1852, came the opening of the preparatory department.

What of finances and the arrangements taken to insure the college's permanency? These matters were taken up at the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church during February 1854 at Sacramento, and the measures adopted were analyzed by the *California Christian Advocate*, under the headline, "University of the Pacific," in its issue of February 24. (The report was preceded by mention of resolutions expressing "high appreciation of his labors," upon the resignation of Reverend Edward Bannister as principal.)

> UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
>
> The Trustees agreed upon a plan of endowment for the University by the sale of scholarships. They have placed them at a low figure, giving tuition for six years for one hundred dollars; twenty-five years for two hundred dollars, and perpetual scholarships for three hundred dollars. The design is extremely liberal, and the Rev. I. Owen . . . was appointed the general agent for the sale of the scholarships. He purposes to travel throughout the state in furtherance of his object. The Rev. C. Maclay was appointed resident financial agent and will collect subscriptions, and attend to the completion of the buildings.
>
> *The Faculty*
>
> It is supposed that the plan of endowment will be so prosecuted that a full faculty will be required shortly. It was necessary to be prepared to proceed efficiently, and the Trustees elected with great unanimity, and the Conference unanimously approved the Rev. M. C. Briggs as President of the University; Rev. W. J. Maclay, Professor of the Latin and Greek languages; and Rev. A. S. Gibbons, Professor of Pure and Mixed Mathematics. The Professors will take their station at once and conduct the preparatory department. They are both graduates of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. . . . It is expected that the President will hold himself subject to the call of the Board or the Executive Committee, and he has accepted the appointment with the understanding that he remains Pastor of Powell street M. E. Church during the year. The appointment will be hailed with general satisfaction. Mr. Briggs is a gentleman of fine taste, a good scholar, has a clear intellect, is fond of the deepest problems in metaphysics, is a sound Divine, a practical instructor, and an admirable and popular speaker. We trust the Institution will rise to greatness under his management. We hope the prayers of the Church will ascend for the Institution and the Faculty, that the God of knowledge may endow the teachers and bless the Institution, that it may flourish and extend a happy influence throughout the land.

During the Sacramento meeting of that spring, Briggs had had many opportunities to show ability while serving on the conference's committees — on the Sanctity of the Sabbath, on Education, and on Temperance. He had, in fact, been extending his denomination's "happy influence" in each of these important directions. He was engaged in too many phases of religious and public work to devote all his energies to the rather feeble institution of learning with the ambitious name — "The University of the Pacific." Accordingly, Alexander S. Gibbons and William Maclay, professors, respectively, of "pure and mixed mathematics" and the classics, were made "joint principals in both the male and female departments [with power] to arrange the government and instruction as they may deem best." In December 1855, President Briggs offered his resignation, which the trustees refused to accept. But in August 1856 he again presented it. This time it was accepted, and Maclay was elected president, to be followed in 1857 by Gibbons. Briggs participated in the commencement exercises of 1858, when the first regular graduates received their baccalaureate degrees.

The contribution of M. C. Briggs to the University of the Pacific is not to be measured by his encumbency as president. His influence continued to be felt, through his sermons and lectures in the vicinity and elsewhere. Take, for example, a passage from his commencement address in 1866:

> Go down to the substratum, the broad social bed-rock, and work up with a will. Condescend to men of low estate. Enforce good counsel with a blameless life. . . . In the lowest human creature recognize a brother, in the weakest a helper, in the most perfidious a friend. A greater than you and I stooped to the helpless and guilty, and when He was lifted up, even upon a cross, He drew all men unto Him. Wait as if there were no working. Work as if there were no waiting. So will you resolve the equation, and complete the circle of a brave, true, and effective life.[7]

He preached racial tolerance and became well-known for his advocacy of co-education. As trustee, he presented a resolution in September 1876, that, in conducting the University of the Pacific as a school of Christian learning, "we demand no other conditions of admission than those which pertain to scholarship and character." The records of the board of trustees over the years reveal frequent mention of Briggs' interest and activity. It may be observed here that for several years he served as a trustee of Napa College, which in 1896 was consolidated with the University of the Pacific.

In the midst of his participation in the affairs of the *California Christian Advocate* and the University of the Pacific, Briggs had, in 1852, returned east as the first delegate from California to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which took place in Boston. As a result of his trip, the holding of an Annual Conference in California was determined upon (such as the one in Sacramento in 1854, referred to above). Another result, not merely important to Briggs but to the cause he served, was his marriage to Miss Ellen Green, a most estimable young woman of Portage, New York. Half a century later, Ellen Green Briggs was to be a mouthpiece for women in her position, as author of a brochure, *Our Pioneer Ministers' Wives* (1908; privately printed).

AS PUBLIC SPEAKER

As a public speaker, Briggs began to find himself much in demand. According to the *California Chronicle* of January 26, 1854:

> The second of a course of lectures will be delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, on Friday Evening next, the 27th instant, at 7 o'clock in the First Baptist Church, on Washington street, near Dupont, by Rev. M. C. Briggs. The public are cordially invited to attend.
>
> Franklin S. Rising, *Rec. Sec'y*

Two days later (*ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1854), appeared the following:

> An exceedingly interesting and highly instructive lecture was delivered last evening before the Young Men's Christian Association, by the Rev. M. C. Briggs. The lecture continued the review of the "Vestiges of Creation," commenced by the Rev. B. Brierly at a previous lecture, considering particularly that portion of the theory of the author of "Vestiges," which treats of the "Gradual Development of Man." ...

The above news item ends with: "In a future number, we will endeavor to present a synopsis of this really eloquent lecture to our readers" (synopsis not found in the copies of the *Chronicle* available).

Man and his environment were to form the theme for several other lectures during the early part of 1854, as reported in the *California Chronicle* of April first and twelfth: Rt. Rev. Bishop Kip talked before the Young Men's Christian Association on, "The Obstacles of the Age to Mental Culture," during which he was said to have "described the thirst of our people for gold as one of the greatest obstacles to intellectual improvement that the young have to overcome . . ."; and Charles Frederick Winslow, M. D., addressed an audience at Musical Hall on "The Preparation of the Earth for the Intellectual Races."[8] Briggs, therefore, was not alone, locally, in appreciating the vast processes nature was capable of, which had been revealed some two decades earlier by Charles Lyell in his *Principles of Geology*. But, as will be shown in a later paragraph, Briggs was at pains to point out to a Stanford University audience at a Founders' Day celebration in 1897, how limited was man's understanding in this respect.

VIGILANTE SYMPATHIZER

Later in the mid-1850's, we find Briggs in Marysville, where, as reported in a dispatch from that town to the Sacramento *Daily Union* of January 26, 1856:

> There are three Protestant churches – Methodist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, and one Catholic. They are generally new, and all built or building of brick. . . . The Methodist church has been longer built, and would be called a good church, if the people here had not built such a remarkably fine parsonage for Mr. Briggs, and now think they ought to have a church to match.

About this time, a critical crime condition was re-shaping itself at San Francisco, similar to that of 1851 when the first Vigilance Committee was formed. The crisis came on May 14, 1856, with the shooting of Editor James King of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. The whole state became aroused. In Marysville, Martin C. Briggs was selected by his fellow townsmen as the one to declare, at a mass meeting composed of "over two thousand people," their opinion of the events taking place in the Bay city. Said the Sacramento *Union* of May 17, 1856:

> The following resolution, among others, was adopted this evening, at the largest mass meeting ever held in Marysville – over two thousand people being present – after an address by the Rev. M. C. Briggs:
>
> Resolved, That as citizens of Marysville we send greeting to the citizens of San Fran-

cisco, and offer them this our assurance, that while we are loth to encourage any action which may tend to the overthrow of the majesty of the law, yet where the law has to all appearances lost its majesty, there is need for action, prompt, decided and fearful; so that crime may certainly meet its reward, and the good name of our State be promptly vindicated.

The Sacramento *Union* of May 19, 1856, printed the complete text of the Marysville resolutions; there were eight in all, the one transcribed above being the eighth.

OPPOSITION TO SPIRITUALISM

In Sacramento the following year, J. H. Lewis and J. W. Haines published *A Lecture on Spirit Communion* by N. I. Underwood, a "Trance Medium." According to the publishers' preface, the book was issued as a means of replying to utterances by M. C. Briggs ("a gentleman," said the preface, "of acknowledged talent"), who had been lecturing, in opposition to the doctrines and manifestations of spiritualism, in Sacramento, San Francisco, Marysville, and other portions of the state. Underwood's lecture in its printed form was said "to have been dictated by a disembodied Spirit — a brother of the Medium. . . ." In Underwood's opinion, Briggs had mentioned three points in his exposé of spiritualism: (1) that the doctrines are not in accordance with natural laws governing mind and matter; (2) that the doctrines as taught by spirits are contradictory, and hence not to be relied upon; and (3) that the communications are not only contradictory but that the manifestations given and the character of intelligence represented are beneath the character of intelligence that we attach to the idea of disembodied Spirit.

The publishers' preface states that they do not "deprecate criticism on account of its [the book's] imperfections . . ."; and it is their opinion that the objections "urged" by Briggs have been "fairly and truthfully presented and answered in a clear, candid and philosophic manner."

The vogue of the spiritualist was considerable in the 1850's and continued so. It is interesting to note that in July of 1902 — the month and year of Briggs' death — a contemporary local newspaper gave a numerical analysis of certain items appearing in its columns (their juxtaposition in the list has been preserved): Lost and Found, 7 items; Clairvoyants, 13 items; Spiritualism, 9 items; Palmistry, 4 items; Astrology, 1 item; Dog Hospital, 2 items.[9]

CIVIL WAR DAYS

As we have seen, none of these items — except the last, where he would have been all sympathy — could have had any attraction for M. C. Briggs. He was, on the contrary, a man who was never protractedly at a loss what to do; once he had found the course he was convinced was right, he pursued it. During the dark days of the Civil War, he rose to a commanding position in the political history of California. He traveled extensively over the state, penetrating even to communities where secession sentiment prevailed, and always he was fearless and unarmed. Outside San Francisco and its immediate environs, he probably touched the California population more completely than did any other individual. The *California Christian Advocate* went so far as to declare editorially that "for fifteen years M. C. Briggs was the most influential speaker in the State of California."[10] His personal power over an audience was nothing less than remarkable. "Like Elijah," wrote Elbert R. Dille in his memoir on Briggs, "he was a mighty man of valor, forceful, fearless, uncompromising."[11] Some thought he could have been elected to the U. S. Senate had he so desired.

While no one could have been more devoted to the Union cause during the Civil War, when the war was ended he was far from wishing to perpetuate sentiments of hostility or vindictiveness toward Southern sympathizers. He was well aware of the grave disturbances occasioned by the presence of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in California during those days. Some felt it a serious mistake for the Church South ever to have entered the free state of California.

At the 1869 Annual Conference of the M. E. Church, a committee of two of their leading members – Eleazer Thomas, D. D., and M. C. Briggs, D. D.[12] – was appointed as fraternal delegates to the Pacific (Southern) Conference, which met in Vacaville in October 1869. They presented written expressions of fraternity, from which I quote:

> At the late session of the California Conference of the M. E. Church, the undersigned were appointed to attend your session, and to bear you the fraternal considerations and greetings of that body. . . . Tendencies to organic union are marked among the religious bodies. Nor can we fail to note that divine and all-embracing charity pauses not at lines of sect or party, but is self-diffusing as the light, and warming as the sun's rays, and seeks to make itself universal. . . . We come as brothers from brothers with fraternal salutations. . . .[13]

Reciprocating "the kindly spirit and fraternal expression," the Pacific Conference was requested to appoint two of its members "as fraternal messengers to the California Conference at its next session." The incident serves to illustrate Dr. Briggs' standing among preachers as a leader of broad vision. It perhaps was one of the earlier indications foreshadowing the unification of the great Methodist bodies, which culminated in 1939.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE

The reader will remember that at the Annual Conference held in Sacramento in 1854, Briggs' name appeared on several committees, among them the committee on the Sanctity of the Sabbath. In 1897, a small volume of 38 pages was published in San Francisco by the Methodist Book Depository, entitled, *The Sabbath Made for Man,* by M. C. Briggs, D. D., field secretary of the California State Sabbath Association. This popular edition followed an earlier (1888) New York edition of 188 pages.

The Civil Sunday Law had been repealed in 1883 – not because it was un-constitutional (it had been passed upon by the California Supreme Court), "but under the plea," said Briggs, "that more or less voters were prejudiced against the statute." Anti-law lobbyists had urged that "the Sabbath was in the Common Law and in the sentiment of the American people and there was no danger of losing it." But the growing looseness of views and practices with respect to the day alarmed Briggs. Beer gardens had become rivals of Babel. There were steamboat excursions, dancing, bowling, etc., with the hoodlum element "in its glory," making Sunday night a busy time for the police.

In his book, Briggs analyzes the derivation and meaning of the word "Sabbath." It does not *mean* seventh; the words are not interchangeable. It does not *mean* rest; rest is a condition prevenient, antecedent, to the higher uses — commemorative and worshipful — of the day, connected with which there is much unselfish activity. "There could hardly be," he says, "a full-orbed Sabbath without physical rest, but there could be unlimited physical rest without a Sabbath."

For Briggs, the fourth commandment, in that it repairs the inadequately compensated (at night) loss of vitality sustained during six days' vigorous labor, is, for that reason, adjusted to the necessity and abiding conditions of "comfortable earthly human life, and is manifestly to hold sway as long as earthly human life continues."

"LIGHT LEADS TO LIGHT"

On February 11, 1897, Mrs. Leland Stanford, "surviving founder," in her address[14] to the trustees of Stanford University, recalled a statement made to her husband and herself by Mark Hopkins, then president of Williams College, while spending an evening at their home in Washington in 1886. After reading aloud to Mr. and Mrs. Stanford the fourth chapter of Ephesians, he remarked: " 'A general observance of this chapter would civilize the world.' I call your attention to this remark," said Mrs. Stanford, "because it was made by one of the foremost educators of this country."

The fourth chapter of St. Paul's "Epistle to the Ephesians" (King James version) reads in part:

> . . . henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of man, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. . . . And be renewed in the spirit of your mind . . . speak every man truth with his neighbor: for we are members one of another. Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath. . . . And grieve not the holy Spirit of God. . . .

At the same Founders' Day exercises, M. C. Briggs, another educator, with long experience in California, spoke on the unchangeableness of the "underlying certainties" but warned against boastfulness in human perception:

"It is a simple yet sublime thing to affirm that a university is a repository of the fruits of all past investigation, a capacious omnium gatherum in which are stored both the ripe and the unripe products of all research, where every thing is tested as by fire. And the testing is no small part of its work. Such are the limitations of human creaturehood that we know in part, and we prophesy in part. The underlying certainties are unchangeable. That which has been is now, that which is to be hath already been. But our sight is imperfect and our grasp uncertain. With all the boasted certainty of science, the Academy of France enumerated thirty-six theories once confidently received and loudly proclaimed as scientific verities, which had been invalidated and renounced within less than fifty years. I speak from memory, but think the number correct. A vast amount of research employs itself in unlearning what erst was thought to be learned. Comparatively few things are stored away as finished beyond the need of reinvestigation. The world owes scarcely less for the unlearning than for the learning.

"But a university is more than a storehouse. It is an entity with a hundred Argus eyes. It is the only perpetual motion; an organized activity ever

'Trying with uncertain key
Door by door of mystery.'

Investigation is its life, and the universe its harvest field, wide and white. All the discoveries of the past are so many torches with which to find more treasure and kindle more lights. The student of today may disabuse himself of the young graduate's fear, that all the secrets of earth and heaven have been found out before his time. Light leads to light.

"Ichthiology has not caught the last fish. Botany has not found the last flower. The heavens contain more astronomy than the books. Electricity has more mysteries to show than the cathode ray. The atmosphere has something to do other than to turn windmills and swell the sails of warships."[15]

Five years later (Jan. 14, 1902), Dr. Briggs' life came to a close at his ranch near Newark, Alameda County, California, and in its January fifteenth edition the Oakland *Tribune* printed an extended obituary. After making mention of his efforts for the welfare of the University of the Pacific and the success of the *Christian Advocate of California*, the *Tribune* contined:

> . . . By lectures, sermons, the force of example . . . Dr. Briggs stimulated the growth of Methodism on the Pacific Coast. Nor was the knowledge of his successful efforts confined to California. Rumors of it swept eastward, and in 1869 he was called to the charge of Trinity Church, Cincinnati, and later to Evanston, a suburb of Chicago. . . . Several times his people sent him to represent them at the General Conferences, and he was welcome in many pulpits, for he was an orator of eloquence and sound judgment. . . . On several occasions he stumped the State in the interest of Union principles, and at the Baker and Lincoln obsequies he was called upon to speak. . . . The venerable patriarch of his denomination retired several years ago to the quiet of a rural life. Dr. Briggs leaves a wife and four sons – H. H. Briggs, A. G. Briggs, and the two who have been ordained to the ministry [Arthur H. Briggs and Herbert F. Briggs].

On February 18, 1884, Briggs wrote a letter to "Father" Lorenzo Waugh, in which he mentions, casually, that he had "preached almost everywhere, and always with good accommodation; in churches, dwellings, shops, streets, barrows, barracks, theaters, tents, and under trees."[16] The sermons, one can be sure, were vigorous. For example, as Loofbourow says, "Probably no other of that day could hurl the thunderbolts of righteousness so effectively as he."[17] Another commentator says that in his later years "a gentle courtesy and good will lighted up his evening sky."[18] If thunderbolts had been called for, however, there can be little doubt but that that "evening sky" would have exhibited some particularly fine specimens, accompanied, perhaps, by a trumpet.

NOTES

1. Leon L. Loofbourow, *In Search of God's Gold* (San Francisco, 1950), pp. 85-88.

2. C. V. Anthony, *Fifty Years of Methodism* (San Francisco, 1901), p. 33.

3. Clifford M. Drury, "A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," this QUARTERLY, XXVI (June 1947), 170, 172.

4. "Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler," *ed. by* Sandford Fleming, this QUARTERLY, XXVII (March 1948), 13; and *ibid.*, June, pp. 124-25.

5. *Calif. Christian Advocate*, Dec. 30, 1896 (quoted in Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

6. In an historical sketch, published in the *Advocate* of Jan. 14, 1869 (citing the San Jose *Patriot*), provision for the university's land endowment did not take actual shape until several years later, viz., on Apr. 1, 1866, when 435 acres were purchased for $70,000, with interest at one per cent per month (first deed of sale executed Aug. 24, 1866). The land was laid out in the usual town form with wide streets, etc. Over 100 acres were consumed in streets, which added that much more to the cost of the land. The eighteen acres, included in the college's campus, were worth $10,000. "The land remaining," says the account, "is to be sold at private sale, and the proceeds kept invested as a permanent endowment fund, the interest only to be available to meet incidental expenses. . . ." The *Advocate* commented thus on the arrangement: "The trustees went into business without a dollar of cash. The lots of land left in their possession will go to form the nucleus of an endowment fund. The future brightens before us." (The move to Stockton occurred during the presidency of Tully C. Knoles (1919-1946).

7. *California Scrap Book,* compiled by Oscar Shuck (San Francisco, 1869), p. 160.

8. See also "Nantucket to the Golden Gate in 1849, From the Letters of Charles Frederick Winslow, M. D.," *ed. by* Helen Irving Oehler, this QUARTERLY, XXIX (March 1950), 2; and *ibid.*, Sept., p. 260. Similar breadth of view was shown by F. C. Ewer (later, the successor of Bishop W. I. Kip at Grace Church) when he addressed the Y. M. C. A. in Dec. 1855, on "The Distribution of the Vegetable Kingdom over the surface of the earth, taken in connection with some of the main causes."

9. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Jan. 16, 1902.

10. *Calif. Christian Advocate*, Sept. 14, 1911.

11. "Minutes," Calif. An. Conference, Sept. 10-16, 1902, pp. 66-69.

12. In 1864, while on a mission to the east, Briggs delivered the Sunday afternoon lecture in old Asbury Chapel, DePauw University. It was said to have been "the most vigorous and stirring patriotic address ever delivered on that platform." The following year, the institution conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity.

13. J. C. Simmons, *The History of Southern Methodism on the Pacific Coast* (Nashville, 1886), pp. 356-57.

14. Jane L. Stanford, *Address to the Trustees,* Leland Stanford Junior University, February 11, 1897 (Stanford Univ., 1897), p. 7.

15. Manuscript (typewritten, with hand-made corrections), Bancroft Library, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley. An earlier educator had this to say on the subject:

> ". . . . .
> Already these ten years I lead,
> Up, down, across, and to and fro,
> My pupils by the nose, — and learn
> That we in truth can nothing know!"

J. W. von Goethe, *The Tragedy of Faust* (Swanwick transl.), Pt. 1, sc. 1, lines 7-11.

16. *Autobiography of Lorenzo Waugh* (San Francisco, 1888), p. 335.

17. Loofbourow, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

18. *Calif. Christian Advocate,* Sept. 14, 1911.

ADDENDUM

Regarding M. C. Briggs' pastoral appointments: he was pastor of the Powell Street Church (later First Church), San Francisco, for three pastoral terms, of three years each; likewise pastor of Sixth Street Church, Sacramento, three terms; for two terms each he was pastor of Howard Street (San Francisco) and Santa Clara churches; other appointments included Marysville, Pacific Grove, Petaluma, Alameda, and Napa. During his absence from California his appointments were Trinity Church in Cincinnati and Evanston, Illinois.

Los Angeles County in the Health Rush, 1870-1900

By John E. Baur

To health seekers in the 1860's, Los Angeles and the county it headed seemed to promise peculiar benefits. Sanitation, though, was still abominable. The Indian and Mexican majority used the local zanjas for bathing, thus causing much illness.[1] Dust, filth, and poor accommodations did not deter the invalids, however, for visitors from the time of Frémont had praised the pueblo's climate. In mid-summer 1860, Gen. James Shields, having just finished his term in the U. S. Senate, arrived by overland stage and stopped at the Bella Union Hotel. A wound received during the Mexican War prompted his coming. It appears that he found the long trip worthwhile.[2]

The new transcontinental stage could transport only a trickle of health seekers to Los Angeles; but by 1869, when the completion of the overland rail route turned the health migration into a rush, Angelenos were justified in complaining of the influx of indigent health seekers, for whom the small town could not provide either housing or livelihood. Railroad travel, it was true, was more comfortable for the invalid and far more rapid. Nevertheless, while earlier invalids had sometimes recovered from mild forms of tuberculosis during the slow sunny trip in the comparatively open wagons or stages, the trains offered no such cure. The closed train, in fact, would before long be considered a source of contagion.

Meanwhile, such laudations of Los Angeles as Ludwig L. Salvator's *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen Lande* (first published in 1878) were appearing,[3] and by the 1880's the town, although still possessed of some Latin-American atmosphere, was already, with its scant 12,000 inhabitants, becoming a cosmopolitan city. The lure of life and health played a noticeable part in making it so.[4] The boom of the 1880's further emphasized the trend. That great phenomenon, as much psychology as economics, had as one of its bases the promise of medical cure. The boosters' plans for sanatoriums may have been merely daydream and diagram, but those who did come for health often stayed and gave greater impetus to the coming genuine growth. Theodore J. Van Dyke said of them:

> Along with these come invalids and other climate-seekers and people whose relatives had been advising them to come out, and farmers by the hundred, tired of vibrating four months in the year between fireplace and woodpile, dodging cyclones and taking quinine.[5]

For them, Los Angeles was the proverbial happy medium. It lacked the coastal dampness which harmed the tuberculous, and yet the town's altitude offered no detriment to those with respiratory or heart complaints. Southerners especially found in Los Angeles a sanctuary from "the malaria and fevers of the South." Well before the real-estate boom was at its height, Lizzie E. Miller, a West Virginia evangelist, told in a letter (July 1886) of the crowd of health and climate seekers who had filled hotels, boarding houses, and private rooms.[6] The newspaper advertisements of specialists in consumption appealed to the tuberculous.[7] Health began to be commercialized as never before, because the whole nation was becoming hygiene conscious. Readers will remember that the tuberculosis scare arose at this time. Then, too, the boom of the 1880's in southern California had left much booster spirit, which could not easily be evaporated.

The result was the great expansion of health resorts that appeared at the junction of the centuries. On the whole, they were a considerable improvement on the haphazard "health homes" and rooming houses opened for the sick of the 1870's and 1880's. As public health and its social implications were being subjected to the scientific method, so health resorts began to be better organized. For the first time, such establishments required extensive planning and large investment, a well-trained staff, and a building program. As yet, sanitariums had not become big business, but the health huckster and medical pirate were finding their activities circumscribed and even endangered. Organizations rather than individuals were tending to become health-resort founders. Los Angeles, being the real "metropolis" of southern California, naturally became the initial nucleus of this development.

Typical in its aim was the California Hospital, "an elegant hotel for the sick." Twenty-five southern California physicians had organized themselves into the "California Hospital Association." The association began with a capital stock of $200,000 and obtained a site at the corner of Fifth and Hope streets, 330 x 185 feet, upon which was erected their hotel. It was described as having "100 bright and sunny rooms, several solariums, a large roof garden, and is surrounded by grounds upon which grow luxuriantly the palm, the orange . . . and the magnolia." A corps of fifty nurses were on hand when the hospital-hotel opened, June 11, 1898. Each patient could choose his own physician. By Christmas Day of 1900, 2355 persons had registered there, but none having tuberculosis or other contagious diseases had been admitted.[8]

Nevertheless this was disappointing progress to the more avid sanitarium-planners. So far, the scope of health-resort plans did not include much specialization, and, most significant consideration of all, the California Hospital Hotel offered no hope to the consumptives—southern California's most numerous invalids. Each proponent had his own conception of an ideal resort, which varied from the small cottage project to a "hygiene state"—a sanitarium-colony fully provided with all the political, economic, and social paraphernalia of a modern city. To one man, the utopia would be of "... spacious grounds — not less than ten acres, and if possible twenty or more — so as to lessen the chance of impurities in the atmosphere from any cause." His resort would be in the foothills, possessed of pure, soft water and wide opportunities for enjoying any recommended diet, "vegetarian or fruitarian, or otherwise — or to fast." The choice of baths should be as varied as the diet — electric light, sun, mud, massage, or sweat baths. Miss Jeannette Smith, a Los Angeles hygiene teacher, recommended a sanitarium in which the mind would receive more attention and training, and she favored "scientific vital breathing." On the whole, the trend was toward health resorts where the patient would be treated individually and by methods uniquely fitted to his peculiar ailment.[9]

By 1904, such a sanitarium was scheduled to be created between Los Angeles and Pasadena. Christened the "Home of Rest," this six-acre establishment would provide suitable diets and attempt to heal by "natural" methods, without drugs or medicines. A score of health baths were to be opened there, and the stress on the mental state was looked to, to promote "skillful mental healers and congenial and helpful reading matter." The Los Angeles *Times* praised this scheme, insisting that "There is room for scores of such establishments in Southern California."[10] Time brought them.

Southern California's dry subtropical climate, added to the growing popularity of the back-to-nature panacea, accelerated the development of this new type of health resort in Los Angeles County. Some persons advocated walking clubs for the tuberculous.[11] Others looked to the current cycling craze as a cure-all. Not satisfied with halfway efforts, many turned to the Battle Creek Institute and the recent doings in Michigan of Dr. J. H. Kellogg. This physician had established a movement related to the Seventh Day Adventists in religion and, in medicine, to the vegetarian movement. The Kellogg institute was very successful. Its insistence upon a natural diet and mild, continuous outdoor exercise seemed the embodiment of common sense to its many adherents. One must remember that the back-to-nature health movement of that period possessed a genuine missionary psychology, which the Battle Creek vanguard carried to Denmark, Tahiti, and Mexico, to mention only a few of its world-wide crusading centers. By the 1890's they had established a branch at St. Helena in Napa County, but, to the astonishment of many Angelenos, none had been proposed for the optimum site — southern California. Here, one could practice the strict health regimen out-of-doors most of the year, and it was an area where there was a constant supply of both health seekers from without and victuals for vegetarians and fruitarians from within. There was no off-season.

At the century's turn, the Battle Creek Sanitarium Company sent scouts to Los Angeles County. Their favored spot was Signal Hill, back of Long Beach. Offering the advantages of isolation and of proximity to Dr. Densmore's orchards, the project dangled for some time while local boosters enthused. Densmore, self-styled "apostle of fruitarianism," could provide products of the vegetable kingdom, his abundant advice, and even his more plentiful moral support.[12] However, the Battle Creek movement achieved more solid results at nearby Glendale. In 1905, the company purchased the home of L. C. Brand for $12,000 and remodeled it into a first-class, modern sanitarium.[13] By this time, though, the Battle Creek system had been modified, and in its modified form had been adopted by independent institutions at Altadena and Mentone.[14]

Kellogg's ideas in Michigan had become a boon to Los Angeles' invalids in general, but not to consumptives in particular. Their problems had been growing more acute for over thirty years; it had been a generation of tremendous hopes, desperate western migrations for self-preservation, and much abysmal disappointment and suffering. The Los Angeles County board of health and the county hospital had warned away the indigent tuberculous, but local charity on the one hand and threats on the other had not solved the problem. Until human nature or the climate changed, the tuberculosis health-rush would continue. It was impractical to deport the penniless invalids, but some men saw a more practical solution. One of these was the much praised and sometimes maligned St. Louis industrialist, Nelson Olsen Nelson. For years, health boards and medical societies had called for a far-sighted philanthropist who might build and finance a colony for the poor consumptives of Los Angeles. Nelson, manufacturer of pipes, fittings, and plumber's supplies, appeared to have the answer.

Born in Norway, Nelson came to the United States in 1847 with his parents, fought in the Civil War, settled in St. Louis, and soon made a fortune by building the largest plumbing-supply company on earth. His interest in labor relations in general, and in profit sharing for both employees and consumers, gave him the reputation of being labor's friend. In 1886 he had founded a model workingman's colony on the Mississippi River near Edwardsville, Illinois, and had named it Leclaire after the profit-sharing Maison Leclaire of Paris. Leclaire, Illinois, became famous for having no police, no paupers, and the lowest death rate for miles.

When Nelson visited Los Angeles, he heard of the consumptives' plight. The Colorado Desert had just been discovered as a possible health center, Dr. J. P. Widney being one of its early prophets. Nelson was convinced that its dry, pure air and sunshine would be the salvation of the stranded urban invalids, and so he bought 140 acres of fertile land in the suburbs of Indio and laid out ten of them as a health camp, consisting of thirty tents. Shortly afterward, two large mess-tents were added, and, before long, cows and chickens were supplying fresh milk and eggs to the sixty persons who almost immediately came to the camp. Those with money paid $3 to $4 a week, while the poor paid nothing.[15] Nevertheless, the colony began to fall apart. Charity patients were being discouraged from coming and only holdovers were treated gratis. Persons well enough to work received $1 a day and board, or $2 without food. The tents were sparsely furnished, and so "lifeless" was the food that those who could ate at Indio restaurants rather than in the mess houses.[16] Like countless such settlements throughout the United States, Nelson's group had begun with promise, and, unlike most, with money, but even at its height it did not unravel the main problem. The Los Angeles tuberculosis crisis had to await later developments. Meanwhile, sunbathers and nudists attempted Colorado Desert colonies, seldom with better success.

As the city was troubled with one group of health seekers, it was blessed by another smaller aggregation made up of seekers who were fairly well educated. Their coming did not often improve their personal wealth in the same proportion that it did their health, but in several cases the circumstances of their cure affected their adopted state and county. Grateful to southern California, they praised this area and encouraged other health seekers to venture forth. Most of them came comparatively early. Joseph Huber left Kentucky in 1855 and was soon regaining his health and succeeding as a Los Angeles viticulturist.[17] Charles Frederick Holder, already a noted naturalist, came to southern California for medical reasons in 1886. He settled at Pasadena, was soon appointed professor of zoölogy at the Throop Institute, and set about studying the islands and mountains of the region. In 1891, he published his *Antiquities of Catalina.* Later appeared his *Life and Sport in the Open,* a work inspired by the outdoor life which was his salvation. One writer said of its author that ". . . probably no other scientific writer had contributed more to make known, both in America and abroad, the attractive portion of our great State."[18]

As active in a different way in helping the nation to appreciate Los Angeles and southern California was Frank Wiggins. As a last chance his doctors sent him to southern California. Arriving here in the late 1880's, he was too weak to go about alone. The physicians who received him in Los Angeles gave Wiggins only a few weeks to live. However, his wife was a good nurse, and he slowly improved. As he recovered, Wiggins came to understand the great health-giving qualities of the local climate. He conceived the idea of advertising "the Southland." In time he became the dominating personality of the Los Angeles chamber of commerce, of which he was secretary for over twenty-five years. Wiggins was in charge of a southern California display at every world's fair after 1893, and he got the idea of a "California on wheels" traveling-exhibit which toured the nation displaying local products.[19] John Steven McGroarty, who knew him well, said: "There is probably no more striking individual example of the possibilities of Southern California from the standpoint of health and human development than Mr. Wiggins."[20]

Another health seeker serving the community through the local chamber of commerce was Charles Dwight Willard. Willard, a native of Illinois, came to Los Angeles in 1888 during the boom. He was then suffering from a lung infection caused by typhoid fever. Willard became a Los Angeles *Times* reporter and later worked on the *Herald*. From 1891 to 1897, he was the predecessor of Wiggins as chamber-of-commerce secretary, and in 1894, with F. A. Pattee and others, he started the *Land of Sunshine* (later, *Out West*), which, as a magazine, was an incomparable booster of southern California climate, healthfulness, and history. As the century ended, Willard managed the Los Angeles *Express*. Besides his history of the local chamber of commerce, he wrote a *History of Los Angeles*, a compact contribution to popular chronicles.[21]

A volume might be written on Los Angeles doctors who sought health for themselves as well as their patients. Especially notable was Dr. Norman Bridge, an authority on tuberculosis, who had come to Sierra Madre in 1890 in search of health. Later he lived in Pasadena, but settled down afterwards in Los Angeles. At his death in 1925, Bridge left two million dollars to the Southwest Museum, an organization of which he had been president. His medical activities had connected him closely with the University of Southern California.[22]

Perhaps the most individualistic of all health seekers was Abbot Kinney, a relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the two presidents Harrison. Kinney had been a law student, medical student, botany expert, cigarette manufacturer, and a member of the U. S. geological survey. Yet he had time to travel through Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific Northwest and Canada, and to settle in Florida. During all his travels, Kinney sought intensively for an ideal health resort. In the "Peninsula State" he found disappointment, for it became manifest that the higher altitudes of foothill regions would prove best for him. At San Francisco, Kinney heard of the new Sierra Madre colony. Hastening southward, the now jaded globetrotter established tentative residence, which in about four months had become permanent. He laid out a farm, foreclosed a mortgage he held on 160 adjoining acres, owned in the foothills by a Mr. Sealy, and renamed the whole estate "Kinneloa."[23] Kinney wrote several books, differing widely in subject matter and usually radical in the opinions expressed, but the main themes dealt with outdoor life, health, nature study, and social problems.

The city of Los Angeles was, like all growing cities, becoming less and less ideal for health seekers, a fact which visitors had begun to point out even in the early 1880's. Outlying areas, benefiting from the city's commerce and comforts without suffering from its crowdedness, became more desirable. Pasadena was the most important community based upon this consideration. Indeed, the "Crown of the Valley" was born of the urge for good health — of "the longing of a frail Indiana woman for a less rigorous climate and her dream of health in Southern California."[24] This Hoosier lady was the wife of an army surgeon from Indianapolis, who was the brother-in-law of Dr. Thomas B. Elliott, the leader of a small migrating group which settled in Pasadena in 1874. Of these settlers a survivor has recently written: "Nearly all of the men had followed professional or clerical vocations in the east. Most of them had come to sunny California to benefit the health of some member of the family."[25] Even the exact location of the future health city was determined by this factor. In 1873, D. M. Berry had been sent by the Hoosiers to find a well-watered and timbered tract for their proposed settlement. Exhausted more by his long-standing asthma than by the lengthy trip, Berry spent his first night at the Fair Oaks Ranch of Judge Benjamin S. Eaton, just northeast of modern Pasadena. For Brigham Young, revelation had decided the place for his valley city, but, for Pasadena, asthma chose the spot. Berry arose the next morning, struck his chest, and exclaimed, "Do you know, sir, that last night is the first night in three years that I have remained in bed all night?" Usually, he had to sit up in a chair in order to breathe.[26]

The next decade saw Pasadena growing slowly, a great number of newcomers continuing to be semi-invalid. E. D. Holton, a visitor from Milwaukee in 1880, found several of his sick neighbors in or near Pasadena, most of them settled on large acreages which provided both life and livelihood.[27] In 1887, the Rev. Mr. Wesley Hagadorn of Michigan, describing the Pasadena citizenry, said:

> We found many invalids here, both among the old, the young, and the middle-aged. The middle-aged, perhaps, predominated. The prevailing cause of invalidism among them all was throat and lung difficulty. We found, in fact, that the majority of the inhabitants were here primarily because of poor health, either on their own part or of some member of their family. Many have been partly or wholly restored, some have died, and others are gradually declining.[28]

A Bostonian visitor, Susie C. Clark, noted that "No letter from Pasadena ever omits to extol this locality as a health resort."[29] Until the 1890's most Pasadena health seekers dwelt in their own homes or in boarding houses, but the town was getting too large to accommodate in such a manner the constant human influx. Long before this, private "sanitariums" were mushrooming on the outskirts; however, they were haphazard in plan and treatment, with little more than tents or wooden shacks raised by self-styled physicians. In 1886-1887, the question of a real hospital arose. As invalids had been the pioneers, so doctors had been in planned abundance from the beginning. Colorado Street was sometimes referred to in early days as "Doctors' Row."

And yet it was not until January 1895 that a receiving hospital was opened by Dr. Jacob H. Hope.[30]

Far-sighted doctors had recognized that the higher altitude of the mountains back of Pasadena, the pure waters, and the quiet might help those suffering from tuberculosis and asthma. (Those with heart ailments were, of course, warned away.) By 1900, the Esperanza Sanatorium had been erected at the foot of Mt. Lowe. The altitude was 1800 feet, high enough for a spectacular view of Pasadena and distant pre-"smog" Los Angeles. Dr. F. C. Melton of Altadena managed the resort, which was equipped with new x-ray apparatus and other of the latest scientific appliances.[31] In keeping with the contemporary stress upon diet, Melton was plagued with the greatest weakness of most such resorts – the patients insisted on overeating.[32]

Mt. Wilson, too, had its sanitarium by this time. One mile west of the old Wilson's Peak Trail and 1500 feet in elevation, this 103-acre resort contained forty acres of vineyards and orchards. A roomy three-story house of twenty-one rooms and a smaller annex composed Dr. F. W. Rayburn's "El Reposo." Rayburn emphasized absolute rest, and his non-insistence upon the strict dietary and/or gymnastic rules of his fellow medical men was probably a welcome departure. Certainly perfect relaxation was achievable here, for "not a sound is to be heard, except the occasional distant rumbling of a Santa Fé train, two miles away."[33]

Not far to the south was southern California's most famous and probably most beautiful health-resort settlement. Nathaniel C. Carter was the father of this colony. In 1872, Carter had purchased and settled on part of the Flores Ranch near San Gabriel. He believed in advertising, and when his publicity had brought his Massachusetts friends to the area, Carter was sure of its potency. Finally, in 1874, he began his railroad excursions between New England and Los Angeles – the then-famous Whitcomb Excursions.[34] In February 1881, he bought from E. J. ("Lucky") Baldwin 1100 acres of the latter's Santa Anita Ranch, the selected acreage constituting the wilder, north-sloping portion at the base of the Sierra Madre, from which his proposed town took its name. The next year, Carter subdivided the land into smaller tracts and sold them to health seekers, who based their new economy upon vineyards and orange groves. In October of 1882, the Sierra Madre Water Co. was organized, whose supply came through iron pipes, soon afterward to be driven 200 feet into the nearby hills.[35] Carter and his family now moved from "Willowdale," their East San Marino home, to a beautiful new residence at Sierra Madre. The aforementioned Abbot Kinney was a next-door neighbor. Not to be out-championed either in name picking or agriculture by "Kinneloa," "Carterhia" soon was a center of activity and its owner was applying to Sierra Madre the advertising psychology he had used on railroad tours.[36] But although the railroad had been Carter's chief medium of success, the lack of a branch line to his colony was felt.[37] (Not until New Year's Day 1906 were Pacific Electric tracks to Sierra Madre to be opened to the public.[38]) Nevertheless, by 1880 the foothills had become inhabited by large numbers of invalids. The Sierra Madre Villa had now been established. At first it was owned by a Mr. Cogswell, an artist, who revealed his talent by beautifying the 500-acre estate with orange groves, orchards, and vineyards, and with gardens and lawns. The hotel and cottages together boasted fifty-four rooms, including music and billiard halls, a glassed-in veranda, more than 200 feet long, with sliding windows which provided sunshine for the invalid. In 1883, Gen. W. T. Sherman declared it "the most attractive spot for having a quiet, good time, on the American continent."[39] The Villa at this time was both a summer and winter resort and a health refuge.

As early as 1886, St. George Freeman said that the fame of Sierra Madre had caused a housing shortage there,[40] a statement borne out by a glance at the pages of the Sierra Madre *Vista* of that time, where one may find numerous but seldom monotonous squibs announcing the arrival of new health seekers. Great Britain, France, and especially Canada supplied many. Early in 1891, the noted Chicago physician Dr. Norman Bridge, mentioned previously, arrived at "Carterhia" for his health. Not only did he bring his family, but he encouraged the Chapmans (also of Chicago) to migrate.[41] Although the Chapmans' son died, Bridge treated successfully other consumptive emigrants.

Physicians and their families made up a fair percentage of Sierra Madre's population, having come for the purpose of saving themselves and helping others, and, at the same time, improving their finances. Even the doctors of Los Angeles contributed to Sierra Madre's well-being by recommending that Angeleno invalids move to the foothill utopia. By the 1890's, in fact, new residents were arriving daily.[42] The practice of commuting had already begun. Several Los Angeles businessmen lived at Sierra Madre for the health of themselves or their families, and traveled by tallyho or coach each day to Los Angeles.[43] Thus, as Los Angeles grew into a city and the resort area broadened, the city turned into an aid rather than a rival. This was not true of Pasadena; by the 1890's it was in economic competition with Sierra Madre, whose citizens, however, belittled the rivalry by echoing the thoughts of one among them who said: "That Pasadena captures any tourists bound for Sierra Madre, is a mistake; the boot is on the other foot, and it hurts 'em, too. Why, they can't keep their own tourists, health and home seekers, after they see Sierra Madre." The same writer praised lofty Sierra Madre's splendid panoramic views, excepting the view toward Pasadena, which, he averred, was the poorest of all its vistas.[44] Meanwhile, N. C. Carter was in the east continuing his California excursions. For his stereopticon he had prepared "before and after" slides, showing Sierra Madre eight years earlier and at the then-present time — illustrations that would seem to guarantee a progressively greater future.[45] The settlers were usually well educated and possessed of some wealth. Professional groups, especially, came. Therefore, a Chautauqua Circle met in Sierra Madre regularly, schools were good and well-staffed, and the public showed much interest in them, while church socials, picnics, and tennis clubs were in a thriving condition by 1890.[46]

As was current throughout southern California, the 1890's brought a reaction in both Pasadena and Sierra Madre against consumptives. Regulations were passed limiting their privacy, and even their freedoms were threatened. (The trend was clear then in Sierra Madre; now the presence of health resorts is discouraged in that area, and its residents are not usually eager to proclaim their town the "sanitarium of the foothills.") But there was at Sierra Madre a separate resort for invalids — not strictly a hospital, but more of a "scientific remedial institution" which provided rest, exercise, and proper, balanced diets prescribed according to individual needs.[47] The sanitarium was then conducted by Dr. Shuey, "a true woman, endowed with ... noble motherly qualities which find their fullest expression by the bed of the suffering."[48]

As to the Sierra Madre Villa, it became less and less an invalid's stopping-place. Gradually it was transformed into a winter resort; still, in a broader sense, it was a health retreat, where the efficacy of preventive medicine could be determined in the cases of those whose physical condition was precarious and who came westward to the famous foothills for rest and for a mild, pleasant winter. During the 1880's, the Rhoades family from Skaneateles, New York, acquired Sierra Madre Villa, continued the landscape gardening, and at first kept the place as a private home, then returned it to hotel status. Meanwhile the tourist and health rush was continuing. English and French visitors, seeking rest, came hither. Unlike the more desperate, serious, and austere existence of the genuine invalids, the wealthy cure-seekers were also pleasure hunters. Christmas and other winter holidays saw dances and decorations and the four-horse tallyho plying between the Villa's front steps and Los Angeles. The world was then polite, and these wealthy Britons and continentals brought with them their own horses — some of them even imported their personal bathtubs. In his turn, Rhoades brought in Chinese, who for a time constituted the staff of this large resort. After 1900, when the health rush declined throughout southern California, Sierra Madre kept within the pattern, and even today many of its older residents are former invalids.

To the east, at Monrovia, the still-existing Pottenger Sanatorium had been established for consumptives. Although it was farther removed from the big city, its modern scientific methods drew much attention, and by 1907 the resort contained 239 patients.[49]

These were the main resort centers of southern California during its health boom. Seaside resorts and mineral springs played significant parts but to a less degree.

SOME EFFECTS OF THE HEALTH RUSH IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Los Angeles County's peculiar attributes had brought thither health seekers to the extent of a "rush." Already mentioned have been the onslaught's influence on the boom of the 1880's, its role in having produced the gradual cosmopolitan evolution of the area, and the building programs it stimulated. Other contributions were at least as durable. Perhaps the most obvious is the effect on the medical profession, which can be objectively summed up by statistics.

The 1900 census showed that California had more doctors in proportion to population than any other state. The average for the whole nation was one to 655 persons; in California the ratio was one to 416. Even Colorado, retreat for those invalids preferring the Rockies, had a less imposing record, one for 462 persons. Commenting upon the facts, a Los Angeles *Times* columnist said: "Whether the large number of doctors in California is due to the great number of invalids, or whether the large number of invalids is to some extent due to the great number of doctors, is a conundrum which is not so easy to solve."[50] It appears certain that it was the invalid who stirred the doctor to hie himself westward rather than vice versa. The fact that many physicians were themselves health seekers merely strengthens this thesis. Writing in 1897, Atchison and Eshelman thus described the situation:

> The Medical Fraternity of Los Angeles, including all who practice medicine here – of all schools or of no schools – will reach in number beyond four hundred. This means an average of one practitioner to each two hundred and fifty of the population; a proportion so large as not to be surpassed, no doubt, in that respect by any other city of equal size anywhere.

The authors credited the health rush with the result, viz., a "medical fraternity replete with men whose ability and standing range from that designated 'best in the United States,' to the very lowest of the worst quack-ridden city . . . and as the city is peopled by many health seekers, the quacks, irregulars and incapables fatten on the unfortunate."[51] A few years later, Dr. Buckley, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, told a Methodist conference in Los Angeles, "Boston had the reputation of possessing more of the ilk [quacks] than any other city on earth, and I felt sure the 'Hub' was really in the lead as to numbers and variety – and she is, barring Los Angeles."[52]

The broad field of eccentric practitioners was certainly interesting. As Dr. Buckley spoke, Alexander Lamar, D.Ps., LLB., claimed to be "the modern miracle healer," offering to cure an alphabetical list of fearful diseases by mental suggestion. His advertisement announced that he was "possessed of a peculiar power of unerring insight into all conditions of disease, which he exercises in locating the exact nature and cause of your trouble," and his only medicine was "vital Powers" conveyed through "psychic vibrations" and "therapeutic suggestion."[53] Dr. Carl Schutz conducted a "Naturopathic Institute" on West Fifth Street which specialized in scientific massages, electrical treatments, and vegetarianism.[54] The Pacific School of Osteopathy was probably less suspect than most. With a faculty of thirty physicians, both men and women, its members worked on the principle that the "body is subject to chemical, electrical, mental, and mechanical treatment."[55]

As to Christian Science, time, achievements, and the admissions of so ferocious a critic as Mark Twain have proved that this movement has more than a kernel of truth in its dogma. Its connection with the health rush seemed inevitable, by reason of this passage from Mary Baker Eddy's famous *Science and Health*. . . . Speaking of tuberculosis, she wrote: ". . . the inflammation, tubercule, hemorrhage, and decomposition are beliefs, images of mental thoughts superinduced upon the body . . . they are not the truth of man. . . . If the lungs are disappearing this is but one of the beliefs of mortal mind. . . . What if the lungs are ulcerated? God is more to a man than his lungs."[56] Physicians would have agreed with Mrs. Eddy that tuberculosis was not hereditary, but most of them attacked her physical cures through faith, although the connection between mental hygiene and physical health was beginning to be seen. In Los Angeles, Christian Science thus won a rather numerous group of adherents, and visitors found that the large invalid population had strengthened the denomination's growth throughout California.[57]

Other religious groups preferred to aid the health seekers through another of the abiding virtues – charity. Charity was stimulated, organized, and greatly expanded in Los Angeles, where the proof of its high quality was found in good works to health seekers. The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy had welcomed the poor and sick to their little hospital in the 1850's. Later, the Young Men's Christian Association and various Protestant churches provided either asylum or money for the invalided newcomers. In fact, the whole population had become acutely conscious of the situation. N. O. Nelson (whose efforts near Indio were mentioned above) was not the only private philanthropist. Angelenos whose funds were far more limited than his did their share and more. In 1887, Emma H. Adams praised them in these words:

> Could all the facts in reference to their patient and gentle care of such persons be made public, the gratitude of the whole country would be awakened, since from every quarter of the land have people gone thither in pursuit of health.

She went on to say that a large number of Los Angeles' health seekers were poor young men who could get no work and were received into the homes of citizens where they were "as assiduously nursed as if they had been brothers or sons, until the end."[58]

The health rush was not purely masculine in its participants. Often women came for their own sake or accompanied husbands or sick children. Most pitiful of all was the woman widowed when her invalid husband died penniless in the strange city. Such a person seldom could get adequate work, and usually the only solution was found through donations of individuals which might buy a railroad ticket home. To solve this social problem, some philanthropic Los Angeles ladies decided in the spring of 1885 to organize the Flower Festival Society, which undertook annual floral festivities, the proceeds to be used to build a home for poor invalid women or destitute widows. The flower shows succeeded financially, and a home in which the unfortunate could be comfortable, with small expenditures, was being erected during Emma Adams' visit.[59]

Surely death must have been a common topic of conversation in Los Angeles late in the last century, for health seekers for a time raised the mortality rate far above what climate and sanitation would have made reasonable. Cemeteries were crowded and undertakers occupied. The gold rush had produced many descriptions of the wanderer who, having lost health, wealth, and illusions, died unknown and was simply buried in the diggings. The health rush of one generation later produced startlingly parallel accounts, as the following example shows: "Most of the graves in which sleep the once lonely and needy, will be found marked with but a narrow board and upon it inscribed the occupant's name, age, and the date of his death."[60] Quite often, even such preparations for immortality were dispensed with. A modern writer, Carey McWilliams, has said that the health seekers made Los Angeles the mortician's paradise.[61] His statement is as factual as it is dramatic. In Los Angeles was built the first crematory west of the Mississippi, and cemeteries were widespread. In fact, a keenly observant British visitor in 1899 recorded the typically southern California attitude toward funerals:

> . . . If the deceased happens to have been in his lifetime a member of any order such as the Oddfellows or Freemasons, his funeral becomes a public function, a parade. You march to the burial-ground clad in the uniform of your order; a band furnishes appropriate music; at the grave certain rites are observed. But the solemn procession to the cemetery is robbed of its significance by the rout that follows the benediction. Peace, indeed, is left with the dead. The living *race* home, as if Death, with the "tiger-roar in his voice," were pursuing them.[62]

Children usually attended what the author called "these send-offs." However, some others were of the opinion that funerals were so common at the time that few but the very curious even noticed them.

The rise of the health-food business was also stimulated by Los Angeles' sick population. It was aided, too, by the native herbs of this area. For instance, yerba santa, a medicinal plant which was found in the San Francisco Bay area, was widespread in Los Angeles County, where it grew luxuriantly in the local canyons. Mexican residents had been early users of it. Now, those afflicted with catarrh and asthma were advised to gather it. When thoroughly dried, yerba santa could be crushed and smoked as a cigarette, or in a pipe. Otherwise, one could steep it like tea or chew it dried or undried.[63]

Even in the late 1880's, the "California Positive and Negative Electric Cough and Consumption Cure," produced in the county from local roots and herbs, was widely advertised.[64] By the century's end, the health-food industry was growing rapidly, and it had turned from emphasizing medicinal foods to health-preserving cereals. In spite of this, Horace A. Vachel, speaking for the whole Pacific coast, but most particularly for this region, commented: "The amount of medicine sold on the Pacific Slope is significant of either stupendous credulity or stupendous ill-health. . . . And the children get their share of the drugs. The weakening of a good belief in the Great Physician has quickened faith in quacks."[65] Meantime, the Phospho Health Food Company on New High Street manufactured half a dozen different products. Just before the national pure-foods-and-drugs legislation, a Los Angeles health officer began to find unethical firms engaged in the food-manufacturing business, and, in 1904, he exposed several who had adulterated their cereals with sawdust.[66]

At this time, L. Gossmann, the former manager of a Hill Street "hygienic institution," opened Los Angeles' first vegetarian restaurant.[67] The Battle Creek Institute and other vegetarian and fruitarian groups had inspired this new business, and it is one which makes good profits today. The presence of Edgar Wallace Conable, diet expert and health-magazine publisher, was also somewhat influential.[68] Had the vitamin been discovered this early, imagine what heights of enthusiasm, genuine or synthetic, such men would have achieved!

Economically, the health-rush-induced, health-food craze was a minor factor in Los Angeles. Sociologically, the health rush had greater weight, because for several years, at least, it tended to keep white-collar labor cheap. Los Angeles was not so industrialized as San Francisco. Besides, clerical and semi-professional and professional groups have not, to this day, been so intensively organized anywhere as industrial laborers. This was certainly more typical in the period with which we are dealing. It would be an exaggeration to say that the health seekers perpetuated the open shop well into the twentieth century, but it is obvious that they did produce semi-skilled and skilled labor in surplus. Consumptives and the semi-invalids were forced to seek white-collar jobs, as great physical exertion was simply impossible. What jobs were open to them were almost immediately filled. S. A. Knopf observed in January 1900 that "the number of tuberculous invalids or recovered consumptives seeking employment is at times simply appalling."[69] Even the Los Angeles *Times*' optimistic Midwinter Number cautioned the invalids and healthy alike not to expect "soft" jobs and high pay:

> . . . this is probably the least promising city of the size in the United States for persons who are seeking light employment, in the shape of clerks, or bookkeepers, or anything of that kind, as well as lawyers, and doctors, and parsons, and other professional men, or for people who desire to run a small store of some kind. The reason for this is that Southern California is the Mecca for thousands of invalids, who are glad to make enough to pay their board and lodging while they recover their health. On the other hand, there is an active demand for mechanics of all kinds. . . .[70]

Other writers saw happier futures for health seekers if they had a little money to spend on land. After the 1880's, the growing of citrus fruits became a successful source of income and seemed well suited to the individual seeking a cure. We have noted that Sierra Madre's pioneers grew oranges and grapes. The invalid could be out of doors most of the time, make a good living, and be exempt from anything but mild and very healthful exercise. As early as 1879, John Codman, an eastern tourist, pictured thus the pioneer southern California growers:

> . . . most of them are a combination of ill-health, intellectuality, and comfortable circumstances. Orange culture is eminently adapted to their condition and circumstances. They can sit on the veranda of their pretty cottages – the refined essences of abstract existence – inhaling the pure air of the equal climate, reading novels or abstruse work of philosophy, according to their mental activity, from day to day, and waiting from year to year for their oranges to grow. Extremes meet. This is the sort of farming agreeable alike to literati and lazzaroni.[71]

In this early rosy sketch, Codman did not mention struggling with a smudgepot on chilly winter mornings.

Equally beneficial to purse and lungs was beekeeping. It, too, kept the mind and body pleasantly occupied in the open. Women invalids could be good apiarists. Also, beekeeping seemed to prosper best in the foothills, where consumptives and asthmatics improved most rapidly. The initial outlay was small – about $30 for three or four colonies of easily-handled Italian bees and the apparatus necessary to raise them.[72] As orange blossoms were beginning to produce a delicious and very popular honey, the two activities might be combined. In its totality, the effect of the health rush on southern California agriculture is still to be ascertained.

Even architecture was somewhat modified by the health rush. Combined with the southern California climate – which would, naturally and inevitably, lead to homes built around the principle of outdoor living – the health factor encouraged outdoor sleeping, large windows, glass porches, and airy parlors, adapted in some cases from the health resort by private builders.[73]

Whether the health rush helped or hindered Los Angeles County the more is difficult to decide. Not all elements have been placed on one balance or the other as yet. The "phthisiphobia" of the 1890's was still rampant when the rush closed, and sanitarians needed to satisfy the question of whether a community was endangered or benefited by a nearby resort. Consequently, in the early 1900's, several foreign institutions in urban or suburban places were studied, and the general conclusion of the investigators, as reported to the American Climatological Association by Dr. J. H. Elliott, was that sanitariums benefit a community: the population increases, the public health improves, and the property assessment as a whole rises; business, too, is stimulated, Elliott reported.[74] This, of course, means health resorts in the narrow sense of sanitariums where the patients are more or less secluded. It did not apply to resorts in the early southern California (and very specifically, the Los Angeles) scene, where masses of invalids followed an illogical, ill-directed existence.

Half a century after the health rush lost its momentum, however, the social and economic institutions it helped create continue and are in turn modified by new "rushes," often as planless and comparatively spontaneous as was the health rush, for the area around the City of Angels which stimulated so many migrations and movements seems to be eternally healthful for those who are enriched with hope, if nothing else.

(In the above article, and in the notes below, the words, *sanatorium* and *sanitarium*, are used interchangeably.)

NOTES

1. J. Kuhrts, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," *Pacific Outlook*, Nov. 1907, p. 13

2. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (New York, 1926), p. 271.

3. Ludwig Louis Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies: A Flower from the Golden Land*, trans. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 21.

4. W. Jarvis Barlow, "Report on Two Hundred Charity Cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis, under Sanatorium Treatment at Los Angeles," *Transactions*, American Climatological Assoc., XXIII (1907), 164-65. The report, and many other works, show the high percentage of foreign-born among this section's health seekers. In his article, Barlow estimates that 40% of those treated in his hospital were aliens. The same figures roughly hold for those in Los Angeles generally. Englishmen, Germans, and Irish were most numerous among foreign invalids.

5. T. S. Van Dyke, *Millionaires of a Day: An Inside History of the Great Southern California "Boom"* (New York, 1890), p. 41.

6. Lizzie E. Miller, "Letter from California," *Southern California Christian Advocate* (Los Angeles, 1887), I, 14.

7. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

8. Los Angeles *Times*, Annual Midwinter Number, Jan. 1, 1901, pp. 3 and 74.

9. Los Angeles *Times*, Feb. 28, 1904.

10. *Ibid.*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Apr. 3, 1904, p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Jan. 17, 1904, p. 26.

12. *Ibid.*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Aug. 11, 1901, p. 25.

13. John Calvin Sherer, *History of Glendale and Vicinity* (Glendale, 1922), pp. 68-69.

14. Los Angeles *Times*, Annual Midwinter Number, Jan. 1, 1904, p. 10.

15. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Mar. 27, 1904, p. 26. See also, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 419-20, an article on Nelson O. Nelson. Nelson retired to California in 1919 and died there in 1922. George Wharton James mentions his resort in *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert* (Boston, 1911), p. 519.

16. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Nov. 27, 1904, p. 26.

17. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 557.

19. John Steven McGroarty, ed., *History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago and New York, 1923), I, 353.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

21. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 595. (The full title of Willard's book is, *The Herald's History of Los Angeles City*. It was published at Los Angeles in 1901.)

22. Newmark, *loc. cit. See* Bridge's excellent autobiography, *The Marching Years* (New York, 1920). On pp. 144-45, he tells of his pulmonary tuberculosis in the 1890's, and his decision to settle in Los Angeles County, which he had visited in 1882 and 1888. A friend of Charles Dwight Willard, his neighbor in the Middle West, Bridge tells of the former's invalidism on pp. 171-77 of his *Fragments and Addresses* (Los Angeles, 1915). The Huntington Library contains Willard's letters to his family at this time, 1879-1913.

23. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 519. In his recent work, *A Literary History of Southern California* (Berkeley, 1950), Franklin Walker mentions (pp. 115-16) several literati among the health seekers, such as Willard, C. F. Holder, and T. S. Van Dyke. A lesser-known sickly visitor was Eugene Field. In the winter of 1893-94, Field came to Los Angeles, visited his old friend Dr. Bridge, and played pranks but did not benefit from the local climate. Returning home, the poet wrote a fantastic tale about Madame Modjeska's ranch. *See* Charles H. Dennis, *Eugene Field's Creative Years* (Garden City, 1924), pp. 311-12; and Norman Bridge, *The Marching Years, op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

24. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

25. Jennie Hollingsworth Giddings, *I Can Remember Early Pasadena* (Los Angeles, 1949), p. 16.

26. Lon F. Chapin, *Thirty Years in Pasadena* (Pasadena, 1929), I, 95-96.

27. E. D. Holton, *Travels with Jottings: From Midland to the Pacific* (Milwaukee, 1880), p. 53.

28. Rev. Wesley Hagadorn, "A Pasadena Letter," *Southern California Christian Advocate*, I (1887), 5.

29. Susie C. Clark, *The Round Trip from the Hub to the Golden Gate* (Boston, 1890), p. 35.

30. Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena* (Pasadena, 1895), p. 466. *See also* Giddings, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Norman Bridge explains the origin of La Viña Sanatorium for tuberculars, and its author, Dr. Henry B. Stedman, in *The Marching Years, op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

31. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Jan. 10, 1904, p. 27.

32. *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1904, p. 30.

33. *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1904, p. 26.

34. Giddings, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

35. J. M. Guinn, *A History of California and an Extended History of Its South Coast Counties* (Los Angeles, 1907), I, 398.

36. Giddings, *op. cit.*, p. 103. In 1882, Kinney, writing from Kinneloa, exclaimed: "I cannot see exactly why people should die in such a place as this. If there was any such thing as contenting mankind they would not." *Pacific Rural Press*, Jan. 14, 1882, p. 18.

37. Newmark, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

38. Guinn, *op. cit.*, I, 398.

39. Newton H. Crittenden, *Health Seekers', Tourists' and Sportsmen's Guide to Health and Pleasure Resorts of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 39-40.

40. Sierra Madre *Vista*, May 5, 1888.

41. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1891.

42. *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1891.

43. *Valley Vista* (Sierra Madre), Dec. 2, 1899.

44. Sierra Madre *Vista*, Feb. 26, 1891.

45. *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1890.

46. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1891.

47. George Wharton James, *Tourists' Guide Book to Southern California* (Los Angeles, 1895), p. 440.

48. Sierra Madre *Vista*, Oct. 27, 1888. Mrs. William L. Rhoades, in an interview with the writer in Jan. 1950, offered much valuable information about the Sierra Madre Villa.

49. Charles C. Browning, "The Effect of Climatic Conditions on Important Symptoms in Tuberculosis," *Transactions*, American Climatological Assoc., XXIV (1908), 10-14.

50. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., July 21, 1901, p. 25. The climate was so much a magnet for invalids that it brought the sick from another future health resort – Arizona. Santa Monica was the special haven for Arizonans, especially those in the south and west of that territory. Tourists called it "The Long Branch of the Pacific Slope." See *The Handbook to Arizona* by Richard J. Hinton (San Francisco, 1878), pp. 19-21.

51. —— Atchison and —— Eshelman, *Los Angeles Then and Now* (Los Angeles, 1897), p. 68.

52. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., May 22, 1904, p. 27.

53. *Ibid.*, Midwinter Number, Jan. 1, 1904, p. 72.

54. *Ibid.*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Feb. 14, 1904, p. 26.

55. Lilian Whiting, *The Land of Enchantment* (Boston, 1907), p. 309.

56. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., June 2, 1901, p. 25. An interesting little book, *The Los Angeles Case* (Boston, 1903), is a reprinting of a *Christian Science Journal* report of the Merrill Reed trial in Los Angeles involving a practitioner. The testimony of witnesses is proof of the great numbers of health seekers who became Christian Scientists after arriving in the city. Several very prominent and successful persons were among them. Probably symbolic of this growth in the area was the fact that, when reorganizing the Church about 1906, Mrs. Eddy planned that every state but California was to have one Committee on Publication, but California should have two, the limit of jurisdiction for the southern California committee to be 36° N. Edwin F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy* (New York, 1930), p. 392.

57. Horace A. Vachel, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (London, 1900), p. 65.

58. Emma H. Adams, *To and Fro, Up and Down* (Cincinnati, 1888), p. 267.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

61. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York, 1946), p. 99.

62. Vachel, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

63. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Feb. 7, 1904, p. 26. David Starr Jordan in his *California and the Californians* (San Francisco, 1907), p. 45, showed little sympathy for the "jaundiced, hypochondrious and neurotic wrecks . . . [who] shiver in California boarding houses . . . poison themselves with 'nerve food.' "

64. Sierra Madre *Vista*, Apr. 5, 1889.

65. Vachel, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

66. Los Angeles *Times*, Illus. Mag. Sec., Apr. 10, 1904, p. 27.

67. *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1904, p. 28.

68. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1904, p. 27.

69. S. A. Knopf, "The California Quarantine against Consumptives," in *Forum*, 1900, pp. 615-20. Along this line, Charles Francis Saunders, in *Under the Sky in California*

(New York, 1913), could write, at a much later date, of the oversupply of lawyers, doctors, merchants, bookkeepers, clerks and others, due to the health rush. *See also* Wyllys S. Abbott, "Los Angeles and the Teachers," *Overland Monthly*, XXXIV (1899), 81-82. The author spoke of numerous small businesses of astonishing variety, due to the climatic healthfulness.

70. Los Angeles *Times*, Annual Midwinter Number, Jan. 1, 1904, p. 26.

71. John Codman, *The Round Trip* (New York, 1879), p. 56. J. H. Strait, several times mayor of Redlands, was probably typical of many sick persons who found health and success in citrus growing. "A Glimpse into the Personal Life of a Successful Grower," *Citrus Leaves*, II (1922), 11.

72. Los Angeles *Times*, Annual Midwinter Number, Jan. 1, 1904, p. 3. J. M. Hambaugh was perhaps the most famous invalid-apiarist. He came to southern California in 1895, briefly stayed at Pomona, and then settled at Escondido, where he recovered. His "California the Land for the Sick," in *Gleanings in Bee Culture*, XXVI (Jan. 15, 1898), 48-49, was an exceedingly optimistic endorsement of the promised land. Meanwhile, Frank McNay of Wisconsin was raising bees and regaining health at Eagle Rock, *ibid.*, XXX (Apr. 1, 1902), 291. Poultry raising, with its comparatively small cash outlay and mild physical exertion but outdoor advantages, appealed to many.

73. Dana W. Bartlett, *The Better City* [Los Angeles] (Los Angeles, 1907), p. 150.

74. J. H. Elliott, "The Mortality from Tuberculosis in the Neighborhood of Sanatoriums," *Transactions*, American Climatological Assoc., XXII (1906), 280-88.

William Heath Davis and the Founding of American San Diego

By Andrew F. Rolle

"Of the new town of San Diego, now the city of San Diego, I can say that I was its founder," the aging William Heath Davis told a reporter of the San Diego *Sun* in December 1887.[1] Almost forty years of financial losses had passed since the once prosperous Yerba Buena trader, with a group of enthusiastic associates, planned a new city.

Though he had earned his greatest success as a San Francisco merchant, Davis had had a long trading experience with San Diego. As a ten-year-old boy, called "Kanaka Bill" by shipmates, he made his first trip to California from Hawaii via Sitka in 1831 aboard the *Louisa,* the vessel returning to Honolulu from San Diego. Its "full cargo of hides and a deck load of horses" seemed to have occupied second place in comparison with the festivities of the several-months visit in San Diego, for Davis later recorded that the *Louisa's* sailors "entertained many beautiful Spanish women. . . ."[2] Only two years passed until the youth was again at San Diego on "the Boston bark 'Volunteer,' " after putting in at Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and San Pedro.[3] He returned for a third time in 1838 aboard the *Don Quixote.* Later, in the 1840's, as supercargo of that brig, he visited the city often.[4] In 1846, Davis, then married into the Estudillo family of San Diego and one-third owner of the brig *Euphemia,* returned again on a trading voyage.[5]

From the Estudillos he learned to know the old town. Most of its small population was huddled, in Spanish colonial tradition, near the presidio, situated some distance from the Bay of San Diego. Davis relates that "whenever a ship came to anchor at La Playa, saddle horses were at once dispatched from the Presidio to bring up the supercargo and the captain."[6] In 1849 José Antonio Estudillo was prefect of San Diego and in a position to point out to Davis that the city's original site, on a rocky slope for defensive reasons, was not favorable to its growth as a seaport; the town needed to move closer to the bay. "San Diego," says a local historian, "simply could not have come into being with any thing like its present position where the Spanish planted the seed of the city in 1769. . . . [This was] sure to become manifest when men of energy and ambition should arrive. . . ."[7]

A man of such energy was Andrew F. Gray, chief surveyor for the United States Boundary Commission. When the commission camped on a sandy waterfront shelf, now the foot of Market Street, during the balmy June nights of 1849, Gray realized that this spot, called Punta de los Muertos, was the logical location for a port city. The Punta fronted San Diego's natural harbor and was accessible to incoming ships. Gray knew it was near where, in 1787, Pantoja's Spanish squadron "anchored within a stone's throw of the present site of the city of San Diego."[8] In February 1850 he explained its advantages to Davis, then in the south for a rest.[9] He suggested to Davis, whom he knew to be a man of means, that a town located there, near the water's edge, would prosper. Both agreed to name the projected community "New Town."

Although only twenty-eight, Davis was already a trader with wide business connections. A serious business manner, blended with a friendly personality, revealed his New England and Hawaiian parentage, and further mellowing had come from his long contact with Spanish Californians. Like such other Yankee Californians as Thomas O. Larkin, John Marsh, Abel Stearns, William Workman, and William Wolfskill, he was one of the most respected Americans in California before the gold rush.[10]

By March 16, 1850, he had signed up as a partner with Gray, José Antonio Aguirre, Miguel de Pedrorena, and William C. Ferrell for the development of the new town;[11] Davis was to build a wharf and warehouse within eighteen months, in return for which he was to retain ownership of the land and improvements on which these stood. The partners obtained from the alcalde of Old San Diego a grant for a tract of one hundred and sixty acres, the price paid being $2,304. Davis added to his own holdings thirty-two quarter-blocks of land (102 lots) belonging to Miguel de Pedrorena for which, "being flush, and having a large income," he paid "thirteen or fourteen hundred dollars."[12] Middletown, a similar bay tract, between Old Town and New Town, was granted to others that year. Davis' brother-in-law, José María Estudillo, was a member of that group.[13]

Just before Davis and his partners signed their agreement, a vessel arrived at La Playa, across the bay from the proposed New Town. On board was an Atlantic cargo of building materials for the U. S. Army. La Playa and Old Town were already bidding for the site of the future San Diego. Old Towners, who realized that the city would move closer to the sea, had bought land in both places, gambling upon which area would develop soonest. Davis' group saw that the location of a government depot at La Playa would be detrimental to the development of New Town. Therefore 2nd Lieut. Thomas D. Johns, quartermaster and commissary of the army unit to which the lumber was consigned, was promised a share in New Town and was persuaded to join the group. He thereupon "reshipped the materials which had been landed at La Playa, and brought the vessel across the bay, re-anchoring off the new town site."[14]

Located a short distance south of the old one, prospects for the new town at first looked bright. California was now in the Union. Gold in the north had brought thousands of newcomers to the state. There was prosperity. For a time it looked as though the project might depopulate both Old Town and La Playa. The very month in which Davis made his agreement, San Diego was politically transformed from a sleepy pueblo into the seat of one of twenty-eight new counties. It was among the first to organize, hold elections, and draw up a tax roll.[15]

In planning Davis' wharf, a survey of the wharf-area was made, in which the scientific advice of John L. Le Conte was sought. Davis was assured that it was "idle to commence operations without the requisite funds. . . ."[16] A bid submitted called for a "pier eleven hundred feet long and twelve feet wide with two rows of piles ten feet apart transversely and fifteen feet longitudinally and a bulkhead or T at the end thereof one hundred feet long by fifty feet wide . . . for thirteen thousand dollars."[17] Davis was to furnish and transport from San Francisco, on his own vessels, redwood piles, imported spruce, yellow pine planks and some men and machinery. He also had to guarantee demurrage for each day's delay and a stipulated price for the expenses of his workers.

There is uncertainty as to the wharf's actual length. Davis later claimed it cost him $60,000.[18] The wharf and its 50-foot warehouse were begun in September 1850 and finished in August of the next year. Davis also constructed other buildings, including a residence for himself—San Diego's first frame house, in existence today though at a different site.[19] The house came around the Horn from Portland, Maine, on the brig *Cybele*, whose cargo "of three hundred thousand feet of pine lumber, eight or ten houses already framed and forty thousand bricks," he purchased in San Francisco and sent south. Brig and cargo together cost him $10,000. From the lumber alone Davis realized some "seventy dollars per thousand feet, free of freight."[20] As he "had the bark 'Hortensia' lying at anchor at San Diego in ballast for any adventure that might offer a profitable voyage," William A. Richardson, co-owner of the land on which the wharf stood and an early British-Californian, sailed the vessel, "well adapted as a carrier of piles," to Sausalito to obtain more timber.[21]

To secure an army post at New Town, land was given to the government by the town's promoters. On it were built a corral and what was known for years as "San Diego Barracks." The first occupants of the barracks were two companies of soldiers, who had been moved thither from their previous station at San Diego Mission.[22] From 1852 to 1920 several hundred men were usually at the post. It served as the army supply-depot of southern California,[23] from which freight, unloaded at Davis' wharf, went by wagon as far north as Fort Tejon, and as far east as Yuma. Mojave, San Luis Rey, Chino, and Santa Ysabel also received supplies from this depot. Because of a water scarcity, a cistern was installed to catch rain. Later, Davis' saloon, Pantoja House, advertised as a "resort for gentlemen," also helped relieve the water shortage by alcoholically assuaging parched military throats.

John Russell Bartlett, U. S. boundary commissioner, who came through San Diego later (1852), was not impressed with the new community:

> A large and fine wharf was built here at great expense; but there is no business to bring vessels here, except an occasional one with government stores. There is no water nearer than the San Diego river, three miles distant.... There is no timber here, and wood has to be brought some eight or ten miles; nor is there any arable land within four miles. Without wood, water, or arable land this place can never rise to importance. . . . San Diego and its position on the coast will always make it an important stopping place for shipping; but whether the Playa or beach near the entrance, the old town of San Diego, or "Gray Town" as New San Diego is called by the people of the old town, will have the ascendancy, remains to be seen....[24]

A shaky city did, however, slowly assemble around a plaza called Pantoja Park. At the corner of State and F streets, the San Diego Hotel advertised rooms for rent. Gray built "the Hermitage" as his residence, while the Civil War generals, Nathaniel Lyon and J. Bankhead Magruder, when still junior officers, established homesites. Other military and naval personnel also bought New Town property.[25]

In 1851 J. Judson Ames, a wandering journalist, arrived in town with a press which he had lugged from New Orleans via Panama and which had almost been lost in the murky waters of the Chagres River.[26] From his office "over Geo. F. Hooper's Store," he commenced publication (every Thursday) of a weekly, the San Diego *Herald;* rates were $10 per annum, "half in advance." Volume I, No. 5 (June 26, 1851), carried the following notice:[27]

> PANTOJA HOUSE
>
> BY CHARLES J. LANING [*sic*]
>
> This New House, situated on the east side of the Plaza, New San Diego, has been fitted up in the best style and furnished with as good WINES & LIQUORS as can be procured on the Pacific coast.
>
> The Billiard Saloon, furnished with the celebrated Winants table, will be lighted up every evening till 12 o'clock.
>
> N.B. – Just received a large supply of sparkling champaigne cider, Byass' London ale and porter, and a lot of choice brands of Havana cigars.

Prominent among the advertisers was George F. Hooper, corner of Fourth and California streets, New San Diego, wholesale, retail and general commission merchant. He states on the same date that he

> has just received on consignment, per brig George Ryan, from San Francisco, a valuable cargo of Lumber, consisting of 100,000 ft. boards, planed on one side, tongued and grooved . . . 30 house frames, 20 by 28, complete, with doors, windows and hardware; 10 house frames, 11 by 16, complete, with doors, windows and hardware, which he offers for sale cheap for cash.

Another advertiser was the firm of Ames & Pendleton, commission merchants, California Street, New San Diego, who advertised 12,000 to 14,000 feet of rough lumber, "for sale low." James H. Smith, New San Diego, was a "House, Sign and Ornamental Painter." Not far from the Pantoja House was:

BOSTON HOUSE

By Slack & Morse

This House, situated near the Plaza, in New San Diego, is now open for the accommodation of the Public. Board by the day or week, with or without lodging.

Hooper's name appeared again in connection with real estate: "FOR RENT. The new and elegantly finished cottage house, recently occupied by Lieut. Beltzhouver, situated on the east side of the Plaza, in the town of New San Diego. Attached to the house are all the necessary outbuildings, and the grounds are enclosed with a neat and substantial fence. For further particulars enquire of Geo. F. Hooper."

Gray, who had returned to the east, wrote of little success in getting William H. Aspinwall's steamers to stop at New Town; but he reported that the competing Cornelius Vanderbilt vessels would put in there on their way up the coast. When the 1500-ton *Pacific* was due, he urged Davis to give its captain "a blow out when he arrives."[28] Soon Davis was acting as agent for various vessels, including the Vanderbilt steamer *Gold Hunter*. He also carried on trading through his San Diego store, his account with only one of his partners there, Aguirre, once totaling $13,000. The invoices listed a mixture of such "hard" goods and potables as combs, gold chains, bricks, lumber, and barreled whiskey.[29] With Juan Bandini he had a joint interest in La Playa property, some of which he purchased from Pedrorena.[30]

Davis spent much time at San Francisco, continuing to operate his oldest business. He entrusted his San Diego enterprises to others, who either earned a salary or a commission. George F. Hooper ran his San Diego store; his Pantoja House Saloon and billiard rooms were operated by Charles Lanning and William P. Toler.

The first Fourth of July celebration at San Diego came in 1851 and coincided with completion of the military barracks. A ball was held, eyewitnesses reporting that: "There were so many 'nice young men' present as to render our chance of a flirtation rather dubious, so we vamosed."[31] The account of another, less-genteel ball indicated that San Diego "was infested with rowdies, adventurers, and drifters who ran 'hog wild' with little official correction . . ." and that Indian killings were not infrequent. A newly built jail threw doubt upon the contractors' civic pride: some time after its stone walls were erected with cementless mortar, rain damaged the building and a prisoner dug his way out with a knife.[32]

If Davis needed enthusiasm to cheer him in promoting New Town, it was supplied in eastern letters from his friend Gray. Davis was assured that the former would like to see him enjoy his enterprise and to have his "energy crowned with the brightest success." Other predictions and suggestions followed:

> You will have the satisfaction of knowing and feeling that you have been the founder and patron of a lovely . . . flourishing and beautiful town. Ten years – and they will soon pass away and you will still be young – and will be surrounded by a delightful society – and heavy business population.

Gray had recently read a glowing account of San Diego by Walter Colton and urged Davis to reprint that part describing San Diego's climate at "about the time San Francisco's disagreeable season comes on." He also advised him to "attach to your wharf — where it passes over the sand pit — a bathing house for ladies and gentlemen . . . a great attraction and profitable also."[33]

Gray did not succeed in getting Washington to open a post office at New Town. A petition signed by some seventy New Towners, requesting that the Aspinwall semi-monthly mail-steamers call there instead of at La Playa, was also fruitless. At Washington Gray also tried to see the secretary of the treasury regarding location of a customs house in New Town. Instead, he had to content himself with obtaining printed maps of the new site.[34]

As time passed, letters addressed to Davis in San Francisco spoke depressingly of the state of San Diego business. By late 1851 he was attempting to direct his faltering activities there completely from the north. His wife had remained in the south to bear him a child.[35] When she returned north, Davis rented their San Diego home to various persons after Gray's tenancy had ended.

Davis' billiard room and saloon suffered in consequence of the drying up of revenue. Quarreling among his managers over their respective jurisdiction did not help business. Toler, his bar-keeper at Pantoja House, wrote that he, George Pendleton, and Hooper "compared notes the other day and found that we had sold in one day between us the sum of two dollars and twelve cents!" Hooper complained that he was not selling enough even to pay for his billiard losses and, he added, "I lose very few games." Apparently excessive tax bills also accompanied the letters to Davis. These might have been lowered, had Davis objected to them. Hooper suggested this and urged his good-natured chief to try to interest the Mormons in settling at New Town. Finally, when nothing came of this nor of one last suggestion that Davis set him up in the cattle business, Hooper quit, lamenting that he could not make enough to live as his store-keeper.[36]

Toler continued to keep his employer informed: ". . . there is no business," he wrote. ". . . even if a few travellers or visitors from above [San Francisco] come down this winter, they will cause a reaction in the bar rooms." He also reported that, "the [army] officers prefer drinking at home . . . and the soldiers would rather pay only . . . for bad liquor." Toler urged Davis to send him pale ale, his most popular item, and also passed on news that Hooper had been elected sheriff, and he, Toler, justice of the peace.[37] Davis himself was contemporaneously selected by the San Diego Whigs to be their candidate for the legislature at the state Whig convention in San Francisco.[38]

As business deteriorated, merchants began to drift back to Old Town. A contract concluding co-proprietorship of Pantoja House was drawn up with Toler late in 1851. Davis thereby inherited $600 worth of unpaid liquor accounts which he turned over to new agents, who had only slight success in their collection. They did succeed, however, in renting his house to quartermaster-corps officers. The billiard room was rented to an ex-quartermaster teamster, who hoped for the patronage of his former "buddies."[39] By 1853 the *Herald* had moved into the old city. Johns, who, as mentioned above, had been made a member of Davis' group to the extent of one share and had advertised in the *Herald* of February 14, 1852:

> COAL DEPOT AT SAN DIEGO
>
> The undersigned has established a depot of Steam Coals at San Diego [*not* New San Diego, it will be noted], California. His coals are afloat, and steamers can be supplied with the utmost despatch.

closed out his business and left for San Francisco, while other disappointed traders and settlers, like Ferrell (an attorney), packed up and departed for Lower California.[40]

The few who lingered longest occupied houses surrounding Pantoja Park. Davis' residence was rented by a succession of agents. The houses that were not torn down formed the nucleus of a second, more permanent town, founded in the 1860's by A. E. Horton, on land for which he paid sixty cents an acre.

To Horton has gone the credit of founding modern San Diego. Only a few have questioned his right to this distinction. In 1940 the president of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, a prominent land-title executive, declared: "William Heath Davis is the real father of present San Diego, instead of Father Horton. . . . Most people consider Horton the father of our city. However, the record shows that Davis started . . . first. . . . Later Horton came in. . . ." Buttressing this contention[41] are Winifred Davidson's earlier notes, preserved at the San Diego Historical Society:

> Perhaps the most fitting name for modern San Diego would have been Davis. At least when we speak of the father of the city we might refer once in a while to William Heath Davis rather than to Alonzo Erastus Horton. "Father" Horton's work stands and the work of Davis has all but disappeared; though the latter as founder of the modern town preceded Horton by nearly two decades.

In an unpublished manuscript, Davis himself repudiated the idea that Horton founded American San Diego[42] — the town that many local historians have referred to derisively as "Davis' Folly." Perhaps it was out of friendship for Davis that Hubert Howe Bancroft omitted virtually all mention of it, both in his "Pioneer Index" and in the text of the *History of California.*

Despite Gray's prediction of a flourishing community in ten years, it had all but disappeared in that space of time. Its failure can be ascribed to a variety of reasons. New Town's most immediate shortcoming was a perennial water shortage, forcing troops stationed there to send a daily mule train several miles, to a point near Old Town, for water.[43] Attempts to develop wells proved unprofitable. The choice of New Town's location had been made chiefly on the strength of a land-locked harbor and mild climate. Essential building materials and foodstuffs had to be transported long distances. In addition, the region suffered from isolated transportation connections.

Inland transportation was primarily by stage. Giddings and Woods' pack trains started service to San Antonio, Texas, only in 1857. This was later augmented by the Butterfield stages which continued to operate until the Civil War. San Diegans went on agitating almost half a century for a railroad. For a score of these years a projected San Diego and Gila Railroad was a popular issue which petered out only after creating intense excitement. Earlier inauguration of rail and steamship connections would have helped Davis and his partners. But San Diego's hopes for a southern transcontinental railroad had to be postponed, despite its early selection as a prospective western terminus.[44]

Others besides Bartlett had predicted New Town's failure for reasons other than lack of water, wood, and a railroad. Old Towners' living in the larger, wealthier, and more permanent county-seat, resented New Town, as did the La Playans who had lost their wharf to New Town. Together the latter discouraged other settlers from investing. By September 1851 San Francisco's *Alta California* spoke of New Town as "a most disastrous speculation, an immense amount having been sunk in the operation."[45]

Politically, conditions also deteriorated in the San Diego area in the 1850's. Eighteen fifty-two saw repeal of the city charter, vesting of governmental powers in a board of trustees, and depletion of the local treasury. The county recorder and clerk for a time held the offices of all the county officials, who were often busy carousing. To counteract outlawry, an ordinance was passed inflicting the death penalty upon conviction of any theft above fifty dollars. This resulted in a hanging over the theft of a rowboat.[46]

The Indian uprising in 1851-2, near Col. J. J. Warner's ranch, also did not help New Town. The disturbance generated anxiety for the safety of army stores there. Some felt that New Town's depot would be attacked, as few troops were there. There was no attack, and the Indian menace was probably no more endemic to San Diego than to many other California areas.

Whether the indolence of the community's older inhabitants was a more valid reason for New Town's failure, as one writer alleged, is also conjectural.[47] The death of Pedrorena, one of the New Town promoters and a member of California's constitutional convention, may have weakened the undertaking. His fruitless attempts to sink a well were none too good an augury.[48] According to one David Cleveland, the passing of President Zachary Taylor spelled the doom of New Town. In his reminiscences, he wrote that it was Taylor's administration which had recognized San Diego's importance as an army post and had erected the base there. With Taylor's death and the accession of Fillmore, the administration's policy toward military posts was reversed, and New Town and its harbor forgotten and abandoned to a deep slumber from which it emerged only much later.[49]

Davis met even greater financial challenges following the fire of 1851 in San Francisco, in which $700,000 worth of his property went up in the smoke that hovered for days over the Golden Gate.[50] Even before the fire, while Davis was still at San Diego, his accountant had warned him: "All your notes . . . will not pay your bond to Page Bacon & Co. when it comes due. . . . I recommend that you take some measures to extinguish these debts and avoid paying so much interest. It will make a hole in your estate."[51] Davis had enjoyed a San Francisco income of over $10,000 monthly prior to the fire.[52] Yet, a year after that catastrophe, he wrote his brother, Robert, that he had been forced to borrow $1,200 from the latter's account, and asked him to dispose of some Hawaiian properties they owned mutually, to raise badly needed cash.[53]

Probably because of these losses, Davis dropped his plans to join others in purchasing the side-wheeler *Ohio* that was to ply between San Diego and San Francisco, utilizing Davis' wharf.[54] The wharf lay largely in disuse from 1850, on, although it was reported in 1852 that the Pacific Mail S.S. Co. planned to purchase it for $10,000.[55] Although Davis expected that every vessel which tied up alongside it would be charged for wharfage, few attempts to collect this fee, and another fee for each wagon unloaded there, were successful.[56] His agent complained about this abuse:

> . . . the people of San Diego have received at your hands, the privilege of using your wharf free of expenses *long enough*. And if the favor was continued as long as the structure lasted . . . none . . . [would] even contribute to . . . keeping it in repair – which it so much requires at present. That the steamers . . . should pay a reasonable wharfage is most unquestionable . . . [as should] the cartmen who receive their $5 per load for carting goods to the old town. . . .[57]

He reported also that Davis' storehouse was frequently used "free of charge," and he begged for sufficient authority to stop the practice.

Few steamers stopped at the wharf after 1853. Two captains even proposed that they be given free wharfage if they brought their ships to New Town.[58] In the fall of that year Davis was informed that:

> your wharf was run into by the steamer "Los Angeles" (late "Ohio") in her last trip causing a damage . . . of not less than $250 or 300 dollars. Some thirty feet of the wharf, the most valuable part, it being the only berth where vessels of deep draft could lay – was carried away and most of the timbers lost. . . . the result of bad management and carelessness, for which the owners of the boat should be held responsible.[59]

Because this damage was never repaired, from then, on, such fees as Davis received were from cartage, as the wharf was unfit for steamers to go alongside. They generally anchored some distance off, landing their cargoes with winches. Other parts of the wharf were subsequently torn away by the steamers *Sea Bird* and *Goliath*.[60]

"It is rumored her [*sic*] that you have disposed of your entire interest in *our* town to B. Davidson for $25,000, is there anything in it," Davis was now asked.[61] He was secretly interested in liquidating his San Diego holdings. A house which "no one seemed to have any control over . . . occupied all the time by squaws," was sold for him by his agent in 1854-5. But he had trouble in disposing of other real estate in the 1850's.[62]

During the Civil War the greatest damage to Davis' properties took place. Although soldiers had dug a well which promised some relief from the water shortage, New Town had practically disappeared by then, except for the military. When war broke out, withdrawal of the troops began, until the site lay abandoned. Then Davis received news of why New Town was dilapidated and desolate. Letters lamenting unsuccessful attempts to have troops permanently stationed there also outlined the foraging of visiting army units:

> The building in which Hooper kept store, has long since disappeared and you are indebted to the *California Volunteers* for appropriating it to their own use. . . . Pantoja House shared the same fate at the hands of these miserable specimens of humanity in Uncle Sam's uniform who enlisted because they were too lazy to work.[63]

His correspondents also complained that out-houses had "long since disappeared," that "Lower Californians passing backwards and forewards would take out fences, window sashes and unscrew doors and pack them off hundreds of miles." Davis' two remaining buildings seemed "to stand as monuments of what was once a thriving little village. . . . The wharf has entirely disappeared, a good portion of it was broken up by the spring tide and went off, the Volunteers used a good deal of it near the shore for *fire* wood."[64] After the war, Davis occasionally sold San Diego lots. His brother wrote him from Honolulu in 1869 that he had never doubted that San Diego was "rapidly rising to become an important place." But he asked whether he might finally be able to sell those lots purchased there years before. That very year, property of Davis' and Gray's was sold to satisfy judgments and tax liens against it.[65] By 1871 Davis owned only twenty-two lots, compared to over one hundred and fifty in 1850.[66]

Davis' indefiniteness in handling his San Diego investments possibly contributed to his failure there. His agents complained that he failed to give them sufficient authority to act in his interest, in spite of their on-the-spot residence. Whether this was owing to Davis' lack of confidence in their business abilities is not clear. There is no question, however, that division of his energies between the latter city and San Francisco hurt him financially.

By 1872 Davis hit upon the idea of commencing a law suit against the federal government for the demolishment of his San Diego properties during the war. His greatest difficulty in preparing this suit was to ascertain the responsible officers and army units involved. He believed that two volunteer regiments, passing from San Francisco to Arizona in the winter of 1861-62, caused most of the damage while awaiting "transportation for their stores, baggage and camp equipage." Due to unusually heavy rainfall "the country around the depot became miry and the travel for heavy teaming impossible," Davis recounts in his *Seventy-Five Years in California.* Because "the fuel at the soldiers' quarters gave out and there was no way to replenish the supply," they chopped up his property for kindling and he claimed that he lost an income of "several hundred dollars per month for wharfage and storage." His property became a mine for fuel, perhaps the most valuable commodity in the area. A squad of men, armed with axes and cross saws, daily ripped planks off the wharf for the army kitchen, bake house, and to construct pig pens, platforms, benches, water troughs, as well as to bank wells. But unfortunately Davis did not know which regiments did the damage, and he was years in finding it out.[67]

His suit took him to Washington where litigation was to occupy more than a decade of his time. He found the army quartermaster unwilling to settle his claim without congressional authority. Davis' attorneys had difficulty understanding why (1) he had not originally taken steps to stop depredations, and (2) why he had waited so long to prosecute the claim. "Poverty and inability to collect proof" did not sound convincing to congressional investigators, who considered poverty "a great incentive" for the early expression of grievance. In spite of no initial success in settling his claim, Davis persistently approached members of Congress, urging them to introduce compensatory legislation. In applications to Congress he claimed damages of $60,000.[68] A notice in the San Diego *Union* on March 18, 1876, incorrectly and wishfully reported that a bill had been introduced to pay him $122,200.

Although Davis' claim was before Congress from 1872, on, it actually failed to reach the calendar of private business until the forty-sixth Congress of 1880. Then it was reported favorably by the claims committee of the Senate and the war claims committee of the House.[69] After almost ten years of wrangling, next year's Senate finally recommended passage of a bill for Davis' relief. Instead, the House substituted a resolution to investigate his Civil War loyalty record, and the title and history of the destroyed property.[70] The chief quartermaster of the Presidio at San Francisco was requested "to examine and report upon the merits" of Davis' claim. Colonel Rufus Saxton, detailed to collect this data, circulated printed letters, canvassing the state for information from persons believed to have knowledge of how the destruction occurred.[71] He also held several hearings, during 1882, at San Francisco and San Diego.

Various army officers and such early Californians as Colonel J. J. Warner, W. F. Swasey, A. J. Bryant, and Peter Burnett volunteered details regarding the destruction and Davis' character. Three former governers of California, various state senators, jurists, prominent officials, and many friends in the Society of California Pioneers sent messages to Washington on his behalf.[72] Davis remained in Washington through 1882, doing what he could to obtain reimbursement. He reminded the government that he had donated some $20,000 worth of land for its use. But "congress after congress" failed to appropriate "a just and equitable amount." An old friend, Ferdinand Vassault, wrote to the aging pioneer: "... Your trials in Washington would have killed any ordinary man.... You do not deserve the torture. You are too good a man to be compelled to be away from your family and suffer the misery of mind that I know you must."[73] His San Francisco cronies resented his long stay away from home. One showed his feelings thus:

> I most fully sympathise [*sic*] with you and your suffering in ... Washington City ... If it was not for the most wonderful hope and perseverance you possess I know you would have left months since and told them all to go to that place where gold and silver will melt in their pockets....[74]

Because Colonel Saxton's findings were in Davis' favor, when his claim reached Congress, there was talk of a House resolution to award Davis $20,000, based upon the favorable report of quartermaster General Meigs to Congress.[75] But Robert Todd Lincoln, secretary of war, in transmitting the results of the investigation to the speaker of the House, recommended, instead, that Davis be paid only $3,000, with six per cent interest from 1862.[76]

Three years later, Congress was still undecided. By now the government had printed hundreds of pages of testimony. Bored with wrangling over the case, the Senate, in a dull moment, decided that it had no authority to remunerate Davis. It ordered postponement of pending legislation for his relief and referred all documents in the case to a government court of claims. For a time it looked as though Davis' thirteen years of work had been in vain. But unexpectedly the House voted to award him $6,000. Sen. Austin F. Pike of New Hampshire rose from his seat, when the legislation reached the Senate, and steered the measure successfully through, annulling the order to transmit the case to a court of claims.[77]

In 1885, after years of struggle, Davis received one-tenth of what he thought his country owed him. Disappointed and exhausted, but unembittered, he returned to continue life on the Pacific slope for another quarter century, with only an occasional visit to San Diego.[78] He remembered his bad luck there much later when he wrote: "The piles of my structure are still imbedded in the sands, as if there had been premeditation to mark them as the tomb-marks of those deceased early explorters of the Pacific ocean...."[79]

NOTES

1. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 334.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 333-36.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 149-50, 196, 202.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 551; *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, pp. 333-36. His wife was María de Jesús Estudillo, daughter of José Joaquin and Juana Martínez Estudillo.

6. *Loc. cit.*

7. William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego* (San Diego, 1908), I, 316-18. Estudillo was elected San Diego County treasurer in 1851. *See* San Diego *Herald*, Sept. 4, 1851.

8. *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, pp. 333-36.

9. "Letter from the Secretary of War . . .," *H. Ex. Doc. No. 9*, 47th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1882).

10. Robert G. Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California, 1542-1900* (New York, 1944), pp. 136-38, 379.

11. "William C. Ferrell; Kangaroo Mice," William Heath Davis MSS, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

12. *Sixty Years, op. cit.*, p. 367. A deed for beach lots purchased from Pedrorena Feb. 26, 1850, is in Pedrorena Folder, Historical Miscellanea, San Diego Hist. Soc.

13. *History of San Diego County With Illustrations* (San Francisco, 1883), p. 88. The tract was later bounded by Broadway, Front Street and the harbor, according to *San Diego, A California City* (San Diego, 1937), p. 28. Alcalde T. W. Sutherland signed New Town's grant March 18, 1850, while Alcalde J. H. Bean signed Middletown's grant May 27, 1850, for 687 acres, to ten persons for $3,185. The plat survey of San Diego, by A. B. Gray and T. D. Johns, is at the San Diego Hist. Soc.

14. Smythe, *op. cit.*, states: "Johns evidently joined the syndicate for he received one of the eighteen shares. The others were distributed four each to Gray, Davis, Aguirre and Pedrorena, and one to Ferrell, the attorney. . . ." This scheme combined "capital, influence, and the necessary expert knowledge in engineering."

15. Walter Gifford Smith, *The Story of San Diego* (San Diego, 1892), pp. 96-101.

16. T. D. Johns to W. H. Davis, June 24, 1850, *in* Letters, San Diego Pioneers, 1850-1855, Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, Calif. (hereinafter cited as PPL). John Lawrence Le Conte (entomologist, and first cousin of John and Joseph Le Conte) made trips to California between 1848 and 1850, while mapping the faunal areas of the country. *See* Nat'l Acad. Sci., *Biog. Memoirs*, II, 263 ff; also, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

17. C. H. Hill to W. H. Davis, Aug. 29, 1850, PPL.

18. Smythe, *loc. cit.*, indicates that the wharf was shorter than 1,300 feet and "extended from the foot of Atlantic Street for some distance, then turned and extended at a right angle to the stream"; J. M. Guinn, *An Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890), p. 28, speaks of it as 1,300 feet long and still standing in 1887. See San Diego *Herald*, July 31, 1851, and the description in *Sen. Report No. 207* (46th Cong., 2d sess.), which describes it as only 450 feet long!

19. It is a private residence at 227 Eleventh Street and was moved from the State and F Street area where most of Davis' buildings were. Gray's Hermitage House was standing as late as 1933. Dunnell's San Diego Hotel, probably also built by Davis, was standing in 1950. *See* Houses, and Davis Files, Historical Miscellaneae, San Diego Hist. Soc.; San Diego *Tribune Sun*, Aug. 30, 1948.

20. *Sixty Years, op. cit.*, pp. 533-34.

21. *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, p. 15; Richardson, pessimistic from the start about New Town, liquidated his interests there at a loss to John Parrott and others by 1855. *See* W. A. Richardson to W. H. Davis, Jan. 25, 1851, Davis Letterbook, Calif. Hist. Soc., San Francisco; W. A. Richardson to W. H. Davis, Apr. 26, 1855, Cowan Collection, William Heath Davis Papers, Univ. Calif. at Los Angeles (hereinafter cited as UCLA).

22. *Seventy-Five Years, loc. cit.*

23. For a good description of this post *see* H. C. Hopkins, *History of San Diego* (San Diego, 1929), pp. 184-89.

24. J. R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations* . . . (New York, 1854), II, 97.

25. Lyon actually built a residence at New Town while Magruder probably lived at the army barracks. *See* J. B. Magruder to W. H. Davis, Oct. 7, 1850, *in* Letters, PPL; A. W. Fraser to W. H. Davis, Feb. 13, 1851, in *ibid.*

26. *See* Carl I. Wheat, "The Old Ames Press . . .," this QUARTERLY, IX (Sept. 1930), 193-200.

27. The most complete file of the San Diego *Herald* in California is in the San Diego Public Library.

28. A. B. Gray to W. H. Davis, Apr. 27, 1851, UCLA (as in note 21 above).

29. San Diego *Herald*, Nov. 15, 1851; J. A. Aguirre, account with W. H. Davis, Aug. 12, 1850; and Bill of Lading, Nov. 1, 1850, *in* Letters, PPL.

30. Ben F. Dixon (curator, San Diego Hist. Soc.) to A. F. Rolle, Apr. 11, 1950.

31. C. H. Heilbron, *History of San Diego* (San Diego, 1936), p. 86; *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, p. 336.

32. *San Diego* (as in note 13 above), pp. 38-39; New San Diego File, Historical Miscellanea, San Diego Hist. Soc.

33. A. B. Gray to W. H. Davis, Mar. 8, 1851, UCLA.

34. Same to same, Apr. 27, 1851; Ames & Pendleton to W. H. Davis, Sept. 30, 1852, PPL.

35. The San Diego *Herald* for July 31, 1851, reported the christening of María Estudillo Davis in an elaborate Catholic ceremony at the Davis home.

36. G. F. Hooper to W. H. Davis, May 16, 26, June [?], Aug. 6, 20, Nov. 5, 1851; W. P. Toler to W. H. Davis, Aug. 14, 1851, PPL.

37. W. P. Toler to W. H. Davis, Aug. 20, Sept. 21, Nov. 5, 1851, PPL.

38. G. F. Hooper to W. H. Davis, May 18, 1851; and John Cook to W. H. Davis, May 16, 1851, PPL; *Herald*, May 29, 1851.

39. Ames & Pendleton to W. H. Davis, Sept. 30, 1852, PPL.

40. San Diego *Herald*, Oct. 28, Nov. 20, 1851.

41. San Diego *Union*, Aug. 10, 1940. Earlier, the San Diego *Herald* of Oct. 9, 1851, had eulogized Davis' contributions to San Diego; Hist. Miscellanea, San Diego Hist. Soc.

42. W. H. Davis, "Founders of the City of San Diego" (manuscript in Huntington Library).

43. Smythe, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20.

44. L. B. Lesley, "San Diego and the Struggle for a Southern Transcontinental Railroad Terminus," *Greater America* . . . (Berkeley, 1941), pp. 499-518.

45. Smythe, *loc. cit.* The San Diego *Herald* refuted the *Alta's* assertion in its Sept. 18, 1851, issue. See also *The Country of Joyous Aspect* . . . (San Diego, 1935).

46. *San Diego, op. cit.*, p. 39.

47. Smythe, *loc. cit.;* Heilbron, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

48. J. A. Aguirre to W. H. Davis, Mar. 31, 1850; and W. P. Toler to W. H. Davis, May 18, 25, 1851, PPL.

49. San Diego *Union*, Nov. 29, 1925.

50. *H. Ex. Doc. No. 9* (as in note 9 above), p. 3.

51. Bernard Peyton to W. H. Davis, Jan. 15, 1851, UCLA.

52. *Sixty Years, op. cit.*, p. 521.

53. W. H. Davis to Robert G. Davis, Sept. 9, 1852, UCLA. Lots belonging to his brother were sold for taxes in 1854. *See* E. P. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, Mar. 5, 1854, PPL.

54. T. D. Johns to W. H. Davis, May 24, 26, June 17, 1851, UCLA; J. H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 239.

55. San Diego *Herald*, Apr. 17, 1852.

56. W. H. Davis to G. F. Hooper, Oct. 20, 1851, PPL; *Herald*, Oct. 8, 1853.

57. E. B. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, June 27, 1853, PPL. Pendleton's assumption of Davis' business interests is announced in the *Herald*, Mar. 19 and July 9, 1853.

58. Ames & Pendleton to W. H. Davis, Nov. 22, 1852, PPL.

59. Same to same, Sept. 27, 1853.

60. Same to same, Apr. 19, 1855; E. B. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, July 9, 1859, UCLA. For damage by the *Goliath*, see affidavits in *H. Ex. Doc. No. 9, op. cit.*, pp. 44-45 and 55.

61. Ames & Pendleton to W. H. Davis, June 27, 1853, PPL.

62. E. B. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, Apr. 1, 1854, Apr. 19, 1855, June 18, 1856, PPL.

63. G. A. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, July 13, 1867, UCLA; U. S. General Land Office, *Index and Abstract of Testimony* ... (n.p., 1869), p. 11.

64. *Idem.*

65. San Diego *Union*, Nov. 25, 1869; W. H. Cleveland to W. H. Davis, Nov. 11, 1867; G. A. Pendleton to W. H. Davis, July 13, 1867; W. H. Brown to W. H. Davis, Nov. 21, 1871; R. G. Davis to W. H. Davis, Sept. 13, 1869, and Jan. 19, 1870; C. A. Wetmore to W. H. Davis, Feb. 7, 1870, UCLA. The last-mentioned letter speaks of a bill "to get a franchise for a wharf at New San Diego, near where your old wharf was."

66. "List of Lots in San Diego Co. Belonging to Wm. H. Davis," and *Auditor's Taxbook, 1850*, Hist. Miscellanea, San Diego Hist. Soc.

67. Draft letter by W. H. Davis to J. G. Estudillo, May 14, 1872, UCLA; *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, p. 335; *Sen. Report No. 207*, 46th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1880), *passim.*

68. Enoch Totten to W. H. Davis, Dec. 3, 1875; E. F. White to W. H. Davis, Oct. 25, 1879; P. A. Roach to Hon. John S. Hager, Jan. 4, 1875, UCLA.

69. *Sen. Report No. 207* (as in note 67 above).

70. *Idem;* also "House Resolution 6247" in *H. Report No. 1465*, 46th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1880); and "House Resolution 6860" in *H. Report No. 84* (Washington, 1881).

71. Printed letter, May 18, 1881, "Headquarters, Mil. Div. Pacific & Dept. California," UCLA.

72. *H. Report No. 163*, 48th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1884); and *H. Ex. Doc. No. 9, op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

73. Ferdinand Vassault to W. H. Davis, Mar. 5, 1882, UCLA.

74. Same to same, Mar. 11, 1882.

75. Meigs reported to Congress: "The wharf and warehouse gave a net revenue of $1800 per annum which is 6 per cent, on a capital of $30,000, and had it been maintained for seven years longer, i.e., 'till 1869, would then have been worth $60,000"; *H. Report No. 1358*, 47th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1882).

76. *H. Ex. Doc. No. 9, op. cit.*, p. 1. If Congress had followed Lincoln's suggested remuneration of Davis, he would have received $6,570.

77. *Congressional Record*, 48th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1885), pp. 505, 1279, 2482; *Sen. Report No. 955*, 48th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1885); *Sen. Report No. 1151*, 48th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, 1885).

78. Scattered references in San Diego newspapers indicate that Davis visited there during 1869, 1874, and 1876. See *Union,* July 14, Nov. 25, 1869; Sept. 15, 1874; Mar. 18, 1876; Dec. 22, 1876. He was in San Diego again in 1886, according to W. H. Davis to C. H. Forbes, Mar. 24, 1886; W. H. Davis to H. H. De Voll, Mar. 21, 1890, letter drafts in John Howell Collection, San Francisco.

79. *Seventy-Five Years, op. cit.*, pp. 334 and 336.

California Soldiers in the Philippines

From the Correspondence of Howard Middleton, 1898-1899

Edited by HAROLD F. TAGGART

(Continued)

My Dear Mother. Manila, P. I. 10/21/98

The city of Para is going to leave for Nagasaki and then home tomorrow, so I take the opportunity to write you. . . . Young Center almost had his discharge but the Dr. said he was not sick enough so would not sign it. He has sent back to his father by Mr. Jerome, formerly Agt. P. M. S. here to try and work our, Fred and myself, discharges. In that case I would probably go to Japan and perhaps home, for I long more every day to see you all and to live and eat like a civilized man. For three days I have eaten nothing but tea and toast, for all they have had has been rice horsemeat and flour and water, called gravy, sometimes desiccated potatoes, which are as good as none. When I say Horsemeat I do not joke but mean it, for the bones have been recognized by one who knows it is salted in barrels and the odor when cooked is something awful. We have to smother it with mustard to disguise the taste. Rice three times a day without sugar is not pleasant eating. However I hope it will all be over soon and I can sit down to the plainest meal you ever set. The Govt. furnishes enough food, but it is made way with before it reaches us, probably by Officer in charge or by Co. Quartermaster. In the bids asked for it looks as though we had canned cherries, etc. but I have yet to see anything nearer than dried Apples and Peaches. We are looking forward to the end of our enlistment, with impatience and a more sour crowd you never saw than the one that gathers around some one bunk on an evening after a particularly bad meal. We talk of all the good times we have had and what we would like to have and it almost invariably ends up with a unanimous vote for, what do you think, plain beef-steak and fried potatoes. However all things come to him who (not waits but) goes after them. There is very little meat used on the island and by the natives none, we get our meat from a large refrigerating strm. from Australia. She arrived about the same time we did and carried nearly 6,000 tons of frozen meat, after she is empty we can expect no more. When the meat arrives at camp it is so cold that you can break it and much colder than ice. Well enough about eating or you will think that has become our one aim in life and with the exception of the desire to be of the *World* again, you would not be far wrong. I am writing in a native's shack for it is much cooler here, surrounded by bamboo 30 ft high and dense shrubbery all around than in the exposed barracks.

On my right also writing is Fred Poett while George Allman is fast asleep in a stone chair near by. The shack is made, as is the custom here, of pampas grass tied together with cane. The floor is split bamboo about ½ in apart. Just under my chair, under the floor is a hen about to lay an egg, for in this country the house is raised off the ground on bamboo poles and open all around.

It is very hot now but it is getting very black in the distance and I hear peals of thunder so expect a heavy shower soon. Have just finished a fine meal here in the native's, on Fred's invitation we take turns. We had sweet potatoes rolled in an egg omelet and fried chicken with bones broken and meat spread out like a chop and then fried in crumbs, then (a surprise) canned corn (from "G. B. of L.") cooked in Water Buffalo milk, fried fish called in Fillipino "Dapho," bananas, oranges, black coffee, cognac and wine, all for $1.00 Mex or 50c our money. I am afraid when I get back I will try to give half as much as a keeper asks thinking the price is in Span. . . . Tell Miss Greene that I still have some of her roses and intend to keep them until I reach again the land where I no longer need reminder that there are still poker games at which one would rather lose than win. . . . Many thanks for the papers, I enjoyed them very much. They are a great deal more concerned than we are, for even with our present forces we could hold Manila against 60,000 Insurgents. Felix Santos a 1st. Lieut of the Insurgents has invited us to come and see him at the headquarters at Punta. . . .

My Dear Mother— Manila, Oct. 26, 1898

. . . Last evening Dr. Johnston invited Du Bois, Lawrence, Poett and myself to dinner with him. I do not know whether you remember my speaking of him or not, but he was a great friend of the Myers and we were quite good friends in S. F. He is now a 1st. Lieut. in Reg. Army and is stationed at our convalescent hospital quite near our barracks. We went to a Spanish restaurant in Manila and had a private room, for although we had intended to go in our plain white linen clothes it rained so hard that we had to put on our blues, so it was better we were in private seeing that he was an officer.

We started with bottled Cocktails, then soup, fish, fillet of beef, peas, cold meat, roast capon, claret, Vermouth, Curaco and Whiskey and soda and dessert, quite as many liquids as solids. We enjoyed ourselves very much and before leaving he gave me a note to the head surgeon giving me permission to see Baird. He seems to think that Baird has had a miraculous escape and says if he does not suffer a relapse he will pull through. He also gave me a prescription for my blood which I think is out of order for I have had several stys and small boils. Our own Dr. gives us the same pill for everything. We are going to be vaccinated, i. e. all those that did not take at Camp Merritt and Dr. Johnston does it. . . .

We received orders that no man was to leave Quartel de Malate and to hold ourselves in readiness to get out under arms at a moment's notice. The Red Cross and Medical Dept were in readiness all night, all drugs, stretchers and instruments gotten together in their cases and all was fixed. The fellows, in their glee at the prospect, shook hands and hugged each other for all hoped for a scrap. It all came about from the insurgents being ordered to leave their trenches and move 12 miles from the city because it was claimed that the Germans were inciting them to a disurbance. Up to the last moment it was expected that they would make a resistance but they withdrew however without trouble.

Some seem to think that we shall still have trouble but I do not, for Aguinaldo is too bright a man to run up against a stone wall, for we have enough men here to hold Manila. His army has already broken into two parts under different heads and dissension is rife. . . .

Later: I was one of the few whose vaccinations at Camp Merritt took sufficiently well to warrant our being excused from its being done this time. Fred Poett has just come in in a great state of excitement, waving a paper in his hands, it turns out to be his "special duty detail." He is now clerk to Perry Haines, Lieut. in charge of the party (to be formed and of which I spoke in last letter) to investigate the Agricultural resources of the Island. He will live with Haines and live like a white man. I will miss Fred very much as we had become very good friends. . . .

One of the boys in our Co. was given $10 gold to go into Manila and get some supplies, he returned to barracks with a bottle of whiskey and a monkey and nothing else. He got home just in time for retreat, and stood there with his gun in one hand and the struggling monkey in the other. We were nearly convulsed and as he answered "here" to his name the monkey gave a squeal.

Last night three fellows came in with the "snakes" and raised a terrible row, so we had to hold them down and give them a draught. There is a drink called "Vino Blanco" or White Wine, it tastes like Anisette and Absinthe and makes them positively crazy and in time will kill or make permanently crazy. I have only tasted it once and that was when I was Corp of a lone post and my sentries had orders to take all Vino from the natives. They collected quite a quantity and more for an experiment than anything else I took some before I broke the other bottles, for this I had to do in order to have a sober guard.

They speak of the "*Volunteers*" having such a fine lot, so much better than the *regulars*, why look at our guard house today, where we keep the prisoners of N. Dakota, Idaho, S. Dakota and 14th Reg. the worst men there are VOLUNTEERS. One has been given 2 yrs and a dishonorable discharge, another *one* year and a dishonorable discharge. When a man is given one or two years or a term of years it means hard labor in a military prison in the U. S.

probably Alcatraz. The one who was given one year had his sentence read out the day I was Corp of Guard and the curses I ever heard his were the worst. It happened to be a Vol. Officer who read his sentence and nothing was done, but the same thing happened the day before to a regular officer and he promptly knocked the fellow down with a stiff right hander under the jaw. Last night the same man threw an empty bottle at the sentry on guard at the door and nearly killed him, his head is cut open and he is still unconscious. The fellow was knocked down and gagged and thrown in the dungeon.

They are putting an addition to the house and as I sit here I can see the whole operation; there is not a nail used in the whole thing but bamboo tied with cane and fastened with wooden pegs. At the rate they work it takes days to make any headway. . . .

Have just succeeded in sewing six buttons on the wrong side of my white coat so will have the exquisite pleasure of doing it all over again. I am quite a hand at sewing now and a patch I have just put on my blue shirt is a marvel of workmanship, it really excels anything I have yet seen, the stitches are so fine and close that it is hard to find where the shirt is (not) mended. Although we have all become adepts at sewing it still is a mystery to us how you all thread the needle at the first stab you make at the eye. We think sometimes that either we or the needle have no eyes and to you it would all be very amusing but to us it is *work*. . . .

Oct 27 – 1898

. . . You never fail to speak of my health and the care you wish me to exercise. You need have no fear for I have never felt better (or lazier) in my life. I have not had a glass full of water unless it was boiled, in the last month. Our Co. uses three wash boilers full every day and we buy 65# of ice to keep it cool, it is put in a large earthen ware jar, called "ojai" and placed in our quarters. Then the Canteen has kept out thirst for there we can buy cold beer, Sarsaparilla and Soda. Dr. Johnston tells me that in every regiment in which the "Canteen" has been established the health of the regiment has improved 50% for it keeps the fellows from the water and native drinks. . . . "Cognac" has been rec. by Dr. J., i. e. in moderate quantities, say 5 or 6 drinks a day, for he says in his experiences both here and elsewhere those men who have taken it were the very last to get the fever, in fact all the fever patients now in the Hospital are men who never drink. You need have no fear but that I will take the best care of my health here. . . . At the rate I am writing this letter will be as large as a Sunday Ex. – and just about as much interesting reading in it. . . . You cannot imagine what a pest insects are in this country, they range from the mosquito and the fly to the roach (3 inches long) and house lizard. There seems to be quite a rivalry between the first two as to which can be the greatest nuisance. The mosquito is a terrible pest at night and, if it was not for our nettings there would be no rest. During the day the flies are always "right there" and each fly picks out a certain spot and no matter how often you drive him away, he will return to that same place. They are most patient and surely teach us to try again for at least we are too disgusted to drive them away so they remain and succeed. The ants we have with us always day and night and their bite is quite sharp. The other insects content themselves with running over your face while you sleep but do no harm.

Later: All is excitement as news has just arrived that England and France — it is however just a rumor but we have to take such as true for we are no longer in the World. Just went over to "quarters" and found every bunk outside and all our clothing on it. They were disinfecting and scrubbing the whole barracks. This is done every little while and although we have to sweep out three times a day it is surprising the amount of dirt that is collected. All of this I have only to oversee and do not have to do any dirty work which is a great help. The other day I was doing a little sweeping myself and the Lieut. saw me, he came up and asked why I did not tell some of the men to do it. I told him it was easier to do it than to order some one else. He said he preferred for Non. Coms. not to do such work. I have found it, as I told him, easier to do it one's self than to stand and tell others "how" to do it. It seems that the better friend a fellow is the more talk necessary to get him to do anything for they all think "Oh, you might order some other fellow to do it," which is all very childish. I would not accept a Non Com. position again under any circumstances.

The "band" which plays every afternoon has just stopped and I tell you it helps to brace a fellow up for they always end with the "Star Spangled Banner" when every hat comes off and all stand at attention, except when you are under arms, then you do not remove your hat. When I get back I will always rise and stand during *that* piece even if I am the only one in the house, but by that time I hope it will have become the custom.

A great drawback to this country is their ignorance of the *hot bath*. I have not had one since I left Honolulu, now you may not think from your past experience with me that it worries me much, but when I get back you have to give me but one invitation for I have changed in many ways since joining "this man's army."

The "Major" came around to all the kitchens yesterday on a tour of inspection. He nosed around some time, lifting up boards and looking under boxes, at last he wished for an explanation of the smell. It happened that we had had some Ham, I spoke of in last letter, for lunch so it was shown to him. He was satisfied as to the source of the stench and said, "My soldiers shall not be allowed to eat such stuff" and ordered it thrown out. It was really rotten but we either had to eat it or go hungry. This morning our breakfast consisted of burnt coffee, "slum" (stew) made of tainted and burnt meat, stale hard tack soaked in water and baked with grease and poor bread. A fine breakfast for a white man. We often have to go outside the gate and buy eggs and cook ourselves in order to put something in our stomachs. . . .

It is raining hard outside and the day is Sunday. Seated on a chair with her elbow on sill and chin in her hand is a young girl looking out upon the rain, just as Edna does even now, while nearby the father, he instead sitting on the window seat and superintending the operations on "Fair's Property" as ours does, is rolling cigars for "dos centavos por una." Now the similarity may not suggest itself to you but it recalled many rainy Sundays at home to me.

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, Nov. 5, 98

The father of the native friend I spoke of and who works in an English firm's office in Manila made three of us an offer the other day. I have inquired his character of the firm and they speak most highly of him. His other son is a prospector and has just returned from the mountains. He showed us some gold washings he had obtained and offered to take 3 of us, whom he calls his "mui bueno amigos" (very good friends) with him whenever we say and promises it will pay us. I intend first to go with Lieut. Haynes expedition for the Govt. when we will be given the first opportunity to stake claims in both timber and mining lands. The first is in my opinion going to be *the* richest thing here, but will take capital to cut it. According to the natives there are vast forests of Mahogany, Teak and Ebony but of course all this would take money to cut and ship, but I could sell my claim as soon as capital began to be interested in the Islands. As for working in an office here the pay will, I think, be very low for wages of all sorts are. I would like to have some agency here which I could work very well. "Jesse Moore Whiskey" will be a great thing as it is asked for every time and there is none here, only "Cyrus Noble." . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, Nov. 10, 98

. . . Have just this moment come off guard, as it reaches a corporal every 17 days, and a fine wet night of it I have had. One fellow tried to pass the #1 sentry with a bayonet stuck in his legging. We stopped him and threw him in the guard house. His language was such that it was necessary to bind him and gag him. Another fellow escaped but was recaptured after I had searched a very large hospital (he is a nurse) from top to stable found him at last in a Spanish saloon and you bet I was none too gentle. . . .

We have all been issued straw hats of this shape [diagram] the brim is hooked up on right side so that we can drill in them. We have to pay 75c American or $1.50 Span. right out of our pockets. The same hat can be bought for 50c Spanish or 25c our money in Manila so you can see something is wrong somewheres. They say that we will be charged $7 American for a Manila suit. There is a great kick over the price charged for the hats, for although the straw is very fine, straw is cheap here.

Later. Have just received your most welcome letter of Sept 25 to 29. Am glad you have at last heard from me here. The trip was hard but we are quartered in the most healthy barracks in the Phil. We are not over 300 ft. from the beach and directly in front of the entrance of the bay. Again we are 3 miles from Manila and there are no ill smells here as we get whatever breeze there is. You speak of white-washing the quarters, why they are 300 ft. long and 70 ft. wide with very high roof the whole being painted white. They are comparatively new and modern having corrugated iron roofs and raised 4 ft. off the ground with a cement floor underneath. As to the small pox it is confined to the 4th Cavalry. They are quartered at a suburb called "Paco," a very thickly settled (and by the lowest) place.

You need have no fear for I am taking the best of care and never felt better in my life. All the boys say I am getting fat and I really think I am. If I can get some *very* cheap photos or get Fred to take mine I will send you some showing the uniform for Battalion Drill and Dress Parade. We are all in white and straw hats, no leggings. It really looks very well to see nearly 1,000 men thus dressed, but it is very hot I must say. I take a cold bath nearly every evening and always sleep from Taps to Reveille.

The box you speak of has not arrived but may any moment now. Also received letters from Mrs. Boench, Mollie, and Ron, all of which were more than welcome. Letters are looked forward to by most of us with more longing than anything else and when a steamer is sighted by any fellow the word is passed around. We then go and sit on a half completed Spanish fort at the edge of the water and speculate as to whether she carries mail or not, for that is our one connection with the World and those we love.

I have received the package and all is curiosity around me to see what it contains. I merely told them *underwear*. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate it, the cocoa will be especially welcome as a cup of that is a meal in itself and with the crackers will help out many a poor mess here. I needed the handkerchiefs very badly and am very glad you sent them as prices have been tripled on everything here. The Magazines and papers are also here for which I am very grateful.

Saw a piece in an S. F. paper purporting to be an extract from a letter of —— to his mother. If it is true that he wrote it, and I dont doubt it, he is not only a liar but a fool. He claims to have met a Spaniard with a knife, while he had only a bayonet, but according to his story the Spaniard fell on his knees and begged for mercy which he very magnanimously extended. It is well for him he is now in the Guard House and will be for 30 days, for the boys have pasted it up in quarters and would josh him unmercifully. He has been in the Guard House off and on since he has been here, and last time, as usual, he insulted an officer and the Army, for which he got 30 days and $10. It would have gone quite hard with him if it was not for Lieut. Savage's friendship. At the rate he is going he will get a "Bob Tail" (Dishonorable Discharge) from the army. . . .

Malate, Manila, Nov. 14/98

My Darling Mother.

. . . I cant tell you how much I enjoy the crackers and cocoa. I make a cup of the last every morning while the crackers help during the day. The magazines arrived by last ship and also some by this. They help out the long days and nights in good shape, and I keep them locked in my chest, until I am through and then pass them around. If they cinch us $7 gold for a suit and take it out of our pay I call it "robbery." The profits of the Canteen are divided between the 10 Co. of 14th, and Co. I has recd. over $200 gold already which money goes to mess fund, so with what we already have we should be able to live well, but our Com. Sgt. does not seem to care to spend the money. . . .

Have just received a note from R. Bliven. He has been in the Hospital most ever since he has been here. He wishes me to speak to Dr. Johnston and try to get him a disability discharge. He has dysentery and looks awful and has lost fully 40#. I do not think he will ever be well here.

Last night at 2 AM the "Fire Call" was sounded and in a very few moments every Co. of 14 was in line. We had only our pants and shoes on but it was warm and we had no time to dress properly. About 3 blocks away was an immense blaze, to this 4 Cos. were sent and the other 6 held at the barracks in case it was a ruse of the insurgents to capture barracks and arms, for we have constantly to be on the alert even though they never tire of assuring us they are "mui bueno amigos de Americanos."

Have since seen the bodies of a man and 2 children burned to death in this fire. It was very surprising why they did not escape as the 2nd floor is not 10 ft. above the ground. Evidently there was foul play as the place was a saloon. The boys did fine work and it was by their efforts that the flames did not spread. . . .

Have just returned from Dr. Johnston and he tells me that although Bliven is really not poor enough to warrant his discharge (from the govt. standards) he will nevertheless do all in his power to get him one and says that he will probably succeed. Does not wish me to say anything re it. He thinks I am looking finely and says that not only have I grown tall, but am filling out and thinks that I have, as it were, "caught on" to the climate and will probably stand it much better than most of the larger and physically stronger men.

"Latest Rumor." Fourteenth Reg. and Sixth Artillery are to be sent to town of "Illio" on another island. Cannot vouch for the truth of it and do not put much faith in the report.

This has been a hard day as we have had over 3 hrs drill in a very hot sun. Had one hour in forenoon and at 3:25 PM had 45 min. Battalion drill and without stopping marched to the Parade Ground at the "Lunita" and had Regimental Dress Parade from which we returned with a great disgust for "Soldiering in the Phillipines." Read a joke in "Life" that was appreciated in our Reg.

Old Lady — (to soldier with arm in sling) "Are you one of the heroes of the '71st." (71st N. Y. Vol.)

Soldier: "No mam, I aint no Hero, I'm a *Regular*."

This joke appeals to the Regulars very strongly for here it is all Vol., i. e. according to their talk and that is all they seem to do (besides eat).

The "Menu" for Thanksgiving day for our Co. has just been made known and I will send you a copy of it. As we have a few hundred (I was going to say "pesos," Mex for dollars) dollars in the fund we shall also have fine Christmas and New Year meals. For my Christmas dinner Fred Poett has asked me to dine with him. It will be very different Christmas from last but by next year the old regime will be renewed and we shall all sit around the *log fire* at home and I can tell you of my *last* Christmas. This will be my first Christmas away from home and it is just about as far as I could get, but my thoughts will be with you nevertheless. We will, here in Manila, celebrate almost a whole day before you do in S. F. but as my thoughts are with you daily, no hourly, why we will be together in hopes and thoughts on that day. This is probably the last letter that will reach you before Christmas, even if this does, as it leaves here Nov. 23 and today is 21st. and all I can do is wish those I *love* a Very Merry Christmas. However, when I return I shall bring you all something either from here or from Yokohama, so I hope you will overlook the lack of a present this time. . . .

George Allman is also in Guard House and has his trial today. His charge is "drunk on guard." Yesterday one man got "4 months hard labor and $10 a *month fine*," for the same thing. Please do not mention this to any one.

Nov. 22, 1898 [same mail]

All is excitement. Two steamers have just come to anchor off the town. We can see by the glass that one is the Senator and think the other is Newport, both are crowded with troops, all this means mail today, so I will hold this letter until last moment and take it into Manila myself.

When mail is in sight everything possible is dropped. All anxiously wait distribution of it. These are the feelings of all shown by the expressions on their faces. He who receives mail is all jubilant while he who is disappointed stands around in a lost sort of way trying to find some one else as unfortunate as he and discuss it with him.

We see by the papers that a number of Vol. Reg. have agreed to stay 3 yrs. Oh, if they could but ask *any* soldier here they would get the answer "Fooh."

Nevertheless no one could have told me anything and I do not regret for *one* moment having come for I would never have been satisfied otherwise....

The very idea of Stone's thinking of a Com. and of Barrie's getting one makes us disgusted with Reg. army. I do not doubt but that any fellow who has gone through this campaign would be passed very easily for a Com. but for me it is in time of peace too ambitionless a life for me. I have had enough of the army either in war or peace. It is a lazy life and one I am not fitted for although if another war should wage I should join in a moment, bitter as the experience has been....

It is true there are many men in the Hospital but they are, according to Dr. Johnston, either men who have never drank or either men who have drank to excess. The man who takes his *two* or *four* drinks of Cognac a day has not been on sick report. As Cousin Lena says I will be much changed when I return. It will, I hope and think, be for the best, for I have changed in my ideas. Edna will I am sure have a much easier time for I am surely "much broader" as you were wont to wish me, and having seen more of life and of men will be able to *pass over* more trifling things than before. We will, however, all be together before long, for the arrival of more troops means relief to those here. I received a very interesting and very much appreciated letter from father. His letters are especially enjoyed by me for I know how he dislikes to write letters and this one was 4-page and large pages, too.

Cuartel de Manila, 11/24/98

My Dear Father.

Today is Thanksgiving Day but you are not celebrating in S. F. We have just had that *breakfast* that I wrote about last mail. As usual everything was spoiled in the cooking, eggs (scrambled) were mixed with hard tack soaked in water, and then boiled potatoes smoked, etc. So far this day has been a failure, for first thing this morning drill call sounded and much to our surprise no "recall," so drill we had and this on the day when all here have something to be thankful for. Yesterday we killed 50 ducks and chickens. L Co. had 4 pigs fattening at a native's hut, but when trying to kill them last night one escaped.

The troops are probably being taken off the transports now for we can see barges alongside ... [enclosed, penned copy of menu for three meals].

Malate, Manila, 11/27/98

My darling Mother.

The box arrived on 25th and great times we look forward to. The can of ham and crackers I also received and am very grateful for same. Lately our breakfasts have been poor. This morning we had burnt hash and poor coffee, so I took a couple of slices of ham and fried them and made cup of cocoa and had a meal envied by all. The ham is really fine, as good as any fresh meat I have ever had.

The boxes for Hooper and Jennings contain all kinds of canned, such as soups, oysters, jams, fruits, bacon, ham, sardines, milk, etc. and will last us some time, also two large tins of sweet and cheese crackers. . . . We, J. and myself, intend to ask for a pass for 2 or 3 days as we have been asked by the Captain to come and stay on the Senator for that time. Will be quite a change.

I see that as usual Stanford won the football game. Berkeley should quit for good now.

Several stmrs have arrived. There are now in port, Senator, Valencia, Arizona, Ohio, Indiana. We have received mail from Senator but as yet have received only one letter from other stmrs. think it was from the Ohio.

. . . I was on guard last night and a more quiet and bright night I never saw. The moon was full and one could read by its light. When off watch I walked to the beach about 2:30 AM and sat on the stone fort. The ships in the harbor all stood out plainly and the water was like glass and as I looked at the stars I thought of what you said about their being the only things that we both could see and that could see us. Never mind, I think March will see us back. I hope so anyway, for I am sick of a climate in which one has to be continually taking the greatest care of himself and denying himself this and that. I must say though that almost everything the Red Cross advised us not to do is the very best thing we could do. For instance we were told never to touch liquor here. Now our own Reg. Dr. told Robe, who has been sick with fever 2nd time, that if he wished to be free from it he must take a few bottles of beer or a little whiskey every day as those men who drank moderately were never sick in a fever or malarial country. . . . I can tell you how sorry I feel for those "poor fools" who have just arrived and have agreed to stay three years. It will take them just three weeks to get enough.

The Minnesota and 1st Cal are the most disliked Regts. here and in the last case it is entirely their own fault for they have talked too much re themselves and really do not deserve anything like the credit some other Regs. do, notably 10th Pennsylvania and they do not say a word. According to S. F. papers there was only one Reg in the fight and that was the 1st Cal. Have just ended my 5th sty and very sore it was too. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila
P. I., Dec. 3, 98

Your letter of Oct 26th recd yesterday. I would have gotten it sooner but Jennings and myself have been on the Senator for 3 days and 2 nights. We went with her to an Island called "Corregidor" as she was bringing troops (200 — 10th Penn) and 50 Hospital men there to establish a Hospital. The Island is about 30 miles away and we went down in the morning and came back afternoon of next day, thus having a day or two's stay. It really is an ideal place for the sick, being very hilly, no water settles and so no swamps, the drinking water is fine, and it has a beautiful beach for bathing. One side is the ocean so it is cooler and the air better than in Manila. Here if any place the sick will improve for it is really a beautiful place.

Although there were 9 officers aboard, the Captain of the Senator had us and only us at his table for meals. I am more than disgusted with Volunteer officers for the Major was very drunk all the way and was continually drinking from some bottle of whiskey with his privates. The Captain treated us finely. The first night we spent in Manila, and went with him to a fight between American soldiers with the Captains of the Zealandria and Arizona. From Captain Dowdell of the Zealandria I received packages of crackers and soup.

. . . I had heard of Butler's escapade and felt very sorry for he was an awfully good fellow. I am glad that you felt that I am strong enough to resist drink but after the first month when they size up a fellow and see that he does not care to go with that crowd they do not press him and as I keep entirely with our own fellows and none of them except —— care to drink why they let us alone. . . .

Dr. Davis' Chloryd. came just in time for I was nearly out and every week or so I am taken with cramps and diarrhea, but one dose 30 drops of that in water stops everything. Florence's marshmallows arrived but not by the same vessel as letter advising about them. I tell you they tasted fine and brought Kearny St. near to us. Smith, Boss and Jennings helped me to get away with them, which as you might guess did not take us long, but then the ants would have eaten them if we did not. . . .

This is very monotonous and how able-bodied men stay in the Army for 30 years I cannot see, but they say that after 3 yrs you do not care to leave it. Really it has a sort of attraction but not enough for me even though I might get a Com. It is an awfully lazy life and in time of Peace must be even worse than now.

Dec. 5-98

. . . I noticed in papers a picture of bones and skulls thrown out for nonpayment of rent of graves. That is a very common sight here in all grave yards. In some there is an immense vault under ground and for hundreds of years the remains have been dumped in there and there are thousands of skulls. You speak of brass shells. Unless you mean the small ones for rifles, I have not seen any but am sending today a set (5) of Mauser Cart. One of which I have drawn the charge and melted lead from bullet, also 1 Remington with brass bullet, 1 Krag and 1 Spring. In these last the charges have been drawn. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, Dec 8-98

My Darling Mother.

. . . Center is going to return to Co. as he has had enough "office boy's" work but then he never stays with anything very long at a time. . . . You ask me to write of my doings. As I do the same thing every day and that I have described, why I cannot write more on that. . . .

We cannot take walks as the American sentries stop us a few miles out and even if we did dodge them we would be stopped by Insurgent lines not much further. I begin to think that there will not be much doing in Manila for some months and even then clerk's pay will be very small as there are so many Filipino clerks who work for very little. If we get transportation money I intend to go to Hong K. and Yokohama. Well as I have written 6 pages to Father I am necessarily short of material. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, Dec 10-1898

My Darling Mother.

I intend to write a few lines every day so that when the mail does go I shall not have to rush. There is so little to happen here that it is hard scratching to find anything to write.

As I sit here in the Y.M.C.A. Tent writing I can see the small ex-Spanish gunboat "Manila" steaming in. She is the one that steamed in to Manila Bay day after the fight ready for inspection not knowing of the battle. She is really quite a handy little boat having very good guns on her and being small can go into almost any harbor. This boat accompanied us to Corregidor. A large French transport also entered this morning. She will take 1250 Spaniards back to Spain, a nice reception they will get.

Yesterday the 13th Minnesota paraded streets with band as they had been ordered to be ready to leave in the next 30 days. A happier lot of fellows I never saw, all dead crazy to go. Captain Dowdell sent our boxes this forenoon and very glad we were to get them too. The fellows wondered whether I was going to start a circulating library. They will be much enjoyed by us. Many thanks to Father. . . .

A great many officers have their wives here now and its good to see an American woman once more. Most of the Spanish women here wear no hats but wear their luxuriant hair high. One of the papers here started a subscription for a Christmas dinner for the sick and several thousand dollars was subscribed, a good part by Spanish firms, but the Govt. has refused to accept it. Pieces of red flannel are being issued to the Army here. They are in shape of figure eight and are worn on hat, standing for 8th Army Corps. We have had 12 fine showers put in an outhouse so now we can enjoy a really good bath. . . .

12 Dec 1898

I have just returned from the Puebla and Senator with Jennings. We staid some time on the Puebla and she did look familiar but is a much dirtier ship now than when we came over and the crew say that the Tenn. are a bad and dirty lot. There are a few old regulars aboard and when they heard we were from the 14th they all came up and shook hands and told us how glad they were to see fellows from that branch. They are disgusted with Vol. officers and told us how they sat down on deck and played craps with the men. Avery and Boss stayed all night on the Zealandria and in that one night Avery lost a pair of pants. The men on this ship are also Tenn. . . . Everything is being made ready to scrap Aguinaldo if he does not lay down his arms when told to. He has been ordered to release Spanish prisoners and guess he will do so.

Spanish transport arrived yesterday and as soon as she came to anchor Dewey sent the Monadnock stripped for action just to show what we had here. Her guns looked immense and the side of the Spanish boat was lined with sailors looking at her.

Cuartel de Malate, 15 Dec 1898

My Darling Mother.

I have just come off guard after being on for nearly 2 days. The Segt of Guard, an old soldier and a friend of mine, gave me the star post at Cap. Eastman's. This is considered a fine post especially for Corp. as he can sleep all night. . . . Ralph Bliven has his discharge but it is by favor and not disability and he leaves on same steamer that this will go on and he has promised to go and see you, tell you just how I am looking and all about me. . . .

Dewey has raised and repaired two more Spanish gunboats and has saved about 7 in all and they are quite handy in this place. Aguinaldo has released Spanish prisoners according to our demands. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, 12/16/1898

This afternoon we were ordered not to leave our quarters and our officers have had all their bedding brought down and will sleep in office. We also had 150 rounds of ammunition issued to us. It is expected that we shall have trouble with the natives so everything is being made ready. Twelve men have been picked out from each company to fall out under arms in case the fire call sounds for it is thought that the natives will set fire to some buildings expecting that the whole Reg will turn out without arms. They could then cut us down as we would have no way of defending ourselves but we will not be caught napping. For my part I do not expect any trouble for I think Aguinaldo too smart to run against a brick wall.

Dec. 17 — 1898

After all there was no trouble last night but of course that does not do away with the possibility of it other nights. The natives in and around Manila do not like the idea of a fight for it would do away with their business and this will be a factor towards a peaceful ending.

Dec. 18 – 1898

Last night the expected fire came abaut 11:30 PM but it was probably only a coincidence as there was no attack made. Then men from each Co. went to do what they could but all the rest stayed in barracks under arms. Every well soldier in Manila was under arms that night as it looked very much as though there would be trouble. When the "fire call" sounds in the dead of night and especially at a time like this it rather startles one for the moment.

Dec. 20 – 1898

. . . I received a letter from Will Hogg this A. M. saying that he could not come here as they would leave there on 24th to continue their tour. He sent package on S. S. Tailer to Warner Barnes and Co., so I went there today and then to the Custom House and got a landing permit but could not get the box as stmr was in middle of the river, so will take a "sampac," sort of native canoe, and go tomorrow. There was great excitement today among the Spaniards as some were being sent aboard stmr to go back to Spain. If the natives ever took Manila there would not be a Spaniard alive in a day, so bitter is the feeling. . . . The Army and Navy Journal says that the 14th is going to Atlanta, Ga. If that is so, we will go by way of Suez Canal so will have circled the world.

Dec 23/98

I will have to finish this in pencil as we have not been allowed to leave the quarters for the last 3 days in anticipation of a scrap. I wish we would have our scrap, if it is really coming and get over with it, for this being locked up in a space a block square is no fun especially as there are over 1,000 men in that space. . . .

I am somewhat surprised at what you say about Father's coming here for in the "City" of Manila there will be very little doing and it will be some months in my estimation before one can go into the interior with any surety of coming out alive. . . . The natives are not only the Insurgents who will be but a small factor in a short time, but the savages in the various islands and who are even on this island in great numbers. However I have two schemes which are open to me and will be for some time, i. e. if I can raise $1,000, but which, of course, I will look into very thoroughly before I attempt anything. I have become acquainted with them through Poett, who is, as you know, with Lieut. Hayne who in turn is ordered to explore and report on the Agricultural and Mineral resources of this island. I will keep you posted but will without doubt return to the states first, i. e. before doing anything. . . . If it layed with the Tenn. Reg. or if they were on outpost duty near Insurgents, as we are, you would have heard of a scrap before now. They are very excitable and a couple who were up here told us, "You all better get all your cartridges fo' they's sure gwine to be shootin tonight." . . .

My Dear Father. Cuartel de Malate, Dec 26/98

The Christmas boxes were received by our Reg on the afternoon of the 24th so you see they did not lose time in getting them to us. I cannot tell you how much I appreciated the pocketbook and knife. I have been without both ever since I left S. F. and have been very much inconvenienced by it. I will now have something to keep my pictures and papers in without their being sweated to pieces. Everything arrived in fine shape, nothing broken . . . [tobacco, socks, etc. and good whiskey].

The latest rumor and it is from a good source is that the Insurgents will be disbanded and Aguinaldo given a Civil Appt. and some of his soldiers enlisted as our soldiers 1 Battalion to every reg. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Jany 4/99

I have been so busy lately that I have had no time to do anything in way of writing. The whole Insurgent business is coming to a head and within the next few days we will know whether they will peaceably lay down their arms or make a stand.

We went on outpost Monday for 24 hrs. in the trenches and Block House 14. Two Co.'s go at a time and are divided into squads under a Non. Com. and sent to different posts. Mine with 3 men and one more Corp. was in sight of the Insurg. lines about 100 yards from their furthest post. Smith had one about 400 or 500 ft. to our side and Jennings one the same distance up a road to the right. These and many other posts are supposed to control all entrance to Manila but it would not be a hard matter for them to get past in small bands if they cared to. The night was intensely dark. One could not see 3 feet away and as they (the insurg) wear no shoes they could easily creep up on sentry walking past in road 3 or 4 ft. wide and lined on either side with dense brush. In this country the brush is positively impenetrable even as near the city as 4 or 5 miles where we are.

This outpost duty will come every 5 days, so our Co. go on again Saturday. Besides that we have our regular guard to do, so you see we will be kept busy. But as Corporal I have a very much easier time as I of course have no post to walk and also much less danger.

Lieut. Field instructed me and the other Corp. to hold our ground in case of attack as all other posts of our Co. would fall back on us. He sent us 6 more men to reinforce us for the night, but all passed quietly. My last guard was at Gen. King's residence. It is always good luck to get a "headquarters" guard as the Non Com in charge sleeps all night, the men awakening one another. . . .

[He sends thanks for Christmas box, towels, soap, tooth paste, etc.]
I Co. received more than twice the number of boxes any other Co. in the Reg and our quarters looked like a Commissary. . . .

I will tell you how I spent Xmas eve. Poett, Center, Allman (who drinks very little now) were invited by our friends, Jose Manuel's family to dine with them at 12 midnight, Christmas eve, as it is a custom here among the "Tagolas" or "Pure Filipinos" to have a feast for their friends on this night. They had been fattening a suckling pig for some little time before. We arrived about 11 PM and found them roasting it in true native fashion. It was on a stick which they turned constantly over hot coals, getting a most beautiful color. I tell you it was fine eating, being fat and cooked just right. They also had chicken, fish tortillas, Claret, etc. We toasted them and then the old man, Jose's father, whom we called Grand Pa, gave a toast to our long and happy life. Matting was then spread on the floor for us and we slept until he awakened us at the first call of the bugle. He must have staid up all night in order to get us back for Reveille. These people were at one time very well fixed but the Spanish and the Priests have reduced them to their present condition. Aguinaldo receives every Xmas "un peso," 50c our money, from every Filipino as a present so you can see what a harvest he reaps.

The 1st Cal. Reg. Vol. which according to the papers is the only Reg. in Manila, and also the only Reg. which lost its head and fired into the Penn. Reg., left under sealed orders last night, probably for Iloilo where the Insurg. refused to allow our troops to land. There are 25,000 insurg. there.

New Year's Eve we spent at Fred Poett's, there being present Jennings, Center, Smith, Allman, and I tell you we had a fine time. Lieut. [?] and Maj. Cardwell came in later and we drank good health to those at home and a prosperous New Year. Then Lieut. Hayne came in and gave us a toast to the New Year. We had a very nice dinner and did not leave until after 1 AM, Jan. 1, 1899. The next day Fred came to Cuartel and got the same crowd dressed in blue shirts and brown fatigue pants, campaign hats and leggins. We then went to Jose's and had our pictures taken with a native shack for a background. Jose's entire family then dressed in their finest and their picture was taken. He also took both groups together. He now has a fine large camera so if the pictures are good, I will send you some of each. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, 1/12/99

My Dear Father.

I have just returned from outpost duty today (Thursday). Sunday I went on guard with my Company, Tuesday with "D" Co. as they were short of non-coms., and yesterday on "outpost duty," with my own company in the trenches in plain sight of Insurgent lines. Wednesday afternoon a small Filipino boy came tearing up on horseback past our lines and shouted a few words in their native language (Togalo) to some of the natives near us. They all took to their heels and packed their valuables in boxes and sacks. Those lucky enough to own a horse harnessed him up and drove by as fast as they could, but always with a touch to their hats as they passed. Some even carried food in their hand. One had a dozen or so pretzels or rather they looked like them. Then the troops began to come and a more anxious lot of fellows I never had seen, every one laughing and joking, all looking for the "niggers." All came at double time and if it were not for the officers would have gone at top speed so anxious were they to get at it.

Down in Manila, on the "Escolta," everything was closed up in a moment, street cars were grabbed, their drivers knocked down and the reins taken by soldiers. The horses surely never went so fast before but still it did not satisfy our fellows. Every carriage in town was taken, regardless of what the driver said and driven at break neck speed to the barracks. They were then turned loose. Fellows in the hospital begged to be allowed to go and many did join their companies, although very weak. One fellow they would not give a gun to, so he grabbed a stretcher and started off, he was pretty fagged when he passed us.

A more frightened lot of people I never saw in my life. They were "dead leary" of the Americanos. One fellow prostrated himself when one of our fellows looked through his gun to see that it was all right.

To show the treachery of these people I will cite an instance. Two nights ago a sentry on outpost challenged two natives as it was late at night. They replied "Filipino amigos" so he advanced them. As they passed him one drew a knife and made a slash at his bowels, the sentry dropped and received the cut across the face. He then, after that, killed one and the other "Filipino Amigo" is dying in the hospital. They have found out that the American sentry is a different man from the Spanish sentry. Another thing they do not understand is the promptness and rapidity with which the Americans got to the forts, block houses and trenches. The Spanish were very slow in sending reinforcements to their outposts and thereby lost many men. The whole of Aguinaldo's army is scared speechless and do not want to fight but he must make a bluff in hopes that the U. S. will buy him off as Spain did.

The Monterey is close in shore and has had her searchlights on the Insurgent trenches for 3 nights. Dewey was yesterday made Gov. Gen. of the Islands so we will know in the next few days just what will happen, as he is pretty "pronto." Our officers slept in the Cuartel last night and the Gatling guns were made ready. The Escolta was covered from one end to the other with them yesterday....

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, Jan. 18/99

My Darling Mother.

. . . Sunday was the day things were expected to come to a head. The secret service sent word to all the commands that the natives had been told to go to church and they would there get their arms. We were consequently kept in our quarters under orders to hold ourselves in constant readiness. We were however not called out and as it stands now never will be. The Gatling guns, of which we have two, were made ready and the men detailed to work them, all ammunition issued for same. Two bull carts that were going past our barracks were taken and made ready to haul the Guns out to the trenches.

Natives moved out of town and all Spaniards into the "walled city." The number of French and German flags raised showed the people feared an inside attack as well as outside and so sought the protection of their flags. The English are classed with the Americans by the Natives, so their flag was not so much in evidence as the others. I have never seen a lot of men take things so gayly even though it was generally known that a good hot time was almost certain to occur within 24 hrs.

The Doctor then took us out and proceeded to give instruction in bandaging broken limbs and wounds. He became angered and more insulting language it has never been my lot to listen to without resenting. He told us in so many words that the "*Govt cared nothing for our lives*," that "*it did not give medical aid to save life but to save us for the next fight*," also that "it was our rifle they cared for and not us." He also said that he wished the first men to be wounded would be those whom he asked questions and who could not answer. He then made a crack at Berkeley College and ended by mentioning the tender [?] of the physician. A fitting ending for such a speech. Such talk by an officer should not be allowed especially to men as unable to resent it as we are.

However it is all over, everything being fixed between Aguinaldo and Americans, he agreeing to our holding the Islands for 2 to 5 years and if at the end of that time the U. S. thinks they are able to hold and govern themselves they are to have Independence with protectorate.

This was read to the Insurgent soldiers by their leaders in the trenches and with a great shout the American flag was raised by them. All is now serene and the treaty with Spain having been signed by the U.S. Senate, we are now looking for our discharges as there is no further chance of a scrap. The "Monadnock" has been anchored as far in shore as she could possibly get and the effect of her big guns on the natives was marvelous. At night she threw her searchlight on their trenches and the men were shown up as though it was daylight.

Everybody is working for their discharge. One fellow got his last week with $600 besides. He enlisted in Cleveland. If you have any chance I wish you would make a *play* for *mine*. I would not have written as I have if I thought we would have any more fighting but all is now "bueno" so you need not worry. I intend to have my photo taken as soon as we get our "Khaki" uniform or if that is not soon, in our regular drill uniform. . . .

(To be concluded)

Recent California

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

Abbott, Mamie Goulet
Santa Ines Hermosa; the Journal of the Padre's Niece. Santa Barbara, Sunwise Press, 1951. i-xi [1 *l.*] 262 p., xiii-xv. illus. $4.00.

Ainsworth, Edward Maddin
California. Los Angeles, House-Warven, 1951. 272 p. [Published in 1948 under title: California Jubilee. Apply to publisher.]

Beattie, George William and Helen Pruitt Beattie
Heritage of the Valley; San Bernardino's First Century. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. xxix, 459 p. 1 *l.* illus. $15.00.

Benefield, Hattie Stone
For the Good of the Country; the Life Story, a Photo Album and Family Tree of William Benjamin Foxen. Los Angeles, Lorrin L. Morrison, 1951. 7, 138 p. illus., ports., map. $10.00.

Bower, Amy
Songs of Sonoma. [Santa Rosa, Amy Bower, 1951] [36] p. $1.00.

Caine, Ralph Lawrence
Legendary and Geological History of Lost Desert Gold. Palm Desert, Desert Magazine Press, c1951. 71 p. illus. [Apply to publisher]

California. Department of Natural Resources. Division of Mines.
Bulletin 154, December, 1951. Geologic Guidebook of the San Francisco Bay Counties . . . [Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1951] 392 p. illus., maps. $2.50.

De Wolfe, Edgar
Guide to the State of California; an Index to More Than Ten Thousand Places in the State of California. Los Angeles, c1952. [1 vol., loose-leaf] illus.

[First National Trust and Savings Bank of Santa Barbara]
Facts Behind the Fame of Santa Barbara and Santa Barbara County . . . [Santa Barbara, Schauer Print, 1952] 63 p. illus. [Apply to Bank]

Gilchrist, Adeline Howard
Dutch Flat [an historical sketch. Auburn? Placer County Historical Society, 1951] [8] p. illus. 10 cents plus postage.

Hammond, George Peter, ed.
The Larkin Papers; Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin . . . volume 1, 1822-1842. Berkeley, University Press, 1951. xxxi, 352 p. port. $10.00.

Hanna, Phil Townsend
The Dictionary of California Land Names . . . revised and enlarged . . . Los Angeles, Automobile Club of Southern California. xxi [1] 391 p. $5.00.

Hinckley, Edith Barrett (Parker)
On the Banks of the Zanja; the Story of Redlands. Claremont, Saunders Press, 1951. 151 p. illus. [Apply to publisher]

Kahn, Edgar Myron
Bret Harte in California; a Character Study. San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1951. 25 p. illus.

Le Netrel, Edmond
Voyage of the *Héros* Around the World with Duhaut-Cilly in the Years 1826, 1827 & 1829 . . . Los Angeles, Dawson, 1951. 64 p. illus. $5.00.

Los Angeles Westerners

Westerners Brand Book, Los Angeles Corral. Los Angeles, The Westerners, 1952. 232 p. illus. $17.50.

Marryat, Frank

Mountains and Molehills; or Recollections of a Burnt Journal. Ed. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. Stanford, University Press, 1952. xiv, 393 p. xxxi., illus. $5.00.

Milliken, Ralph Le Roy

San Juan Bautista, California; the City of History. [Los Banos, Los Banos *Enterprise*, c1951] 8 *l.* illus. [new ed.] 35 cents.

Morgan, Neil Bowen

My San Diego. Forewords [by] Max Miller, Art Linkletter [and] Gregory Peck. [San Diego?, 1951] 56 p. illus.

Mowry, George E.

The California Progressives. Berkeley, University Press, 1951. xi, 349 p. $6.00.

Ojai Presbyterian Church

Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1877-1952. [n. p., Ojai Presbyterian Church, 1952] [7] p. illus. [Apply to publisher]

Rodriguez, Marie Louise (Bine)

The Earthquake of 1906. San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1951. 3 *l.* 106 p.

Rowland, Leon

Los Fundadores. Fresno, Academy of California Church History, 1951. 46 [9] p. [Apply to Academy]

Scott, Ferris Huntington

Palm Springs Area; Souvenir Yearbook . . . [Palm Springs, 1951] 50 p. illus., ports., maps.

Smith, Wallace

Prodigal Sons; Adventures of Christopher Evans and John Sontag. Boston, Christopher, 1951. 434 p. illus. $4.50.

Stevenson, Robert Louis

The Silverado Squatters. San Francisco, Grabhorn, 1952. 4 p. *l.*, 181 p. illus. $7.50.

Stuart, Reginald R.

San Leandro; a History. San Leandro, First Methodist Church, 1951. xv, 287 p. illus., map. $3.50.

Taylor, Bayard

New Pictures from California. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. 2 p. *l.* [vii] 135 p., 1 *l.* Map in pocket. $10.00.

Thomas Brothers, Los Angeles and San Francisco

Popular Atlas, San Diego County, Showing Streets, Address Block Numbers, Bus Lines, Parks, Schools, Points of Interest, Airports, Hospitals, Ranchos, Townships and Sections, Judicial Townships, National Forests, Indian Reservations, Military Reservations, State Parks, and Postal Zones. Los Angeles, Thomas Brothers, c1951. 95 p. col. maps. $2.50.

Thurman, Sue Bailey

Pioneers of Negro Origin in California. San Francisco, Acme Publishing Co. [c1952] [2] 70 p. illus. $1.00.

Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego

Borrego Springs; Desert Playground. San Diego, Trust Company, c1951. 12 p. illus [Apply to Company]

Wagner, Henry Raup

Sixty Years of Book Collecting. San Francisco, Roxburghe Club, 1952. v, 51 p. port.

[Colophon: 100 copies for the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles and 100 copies for the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco printed by the Ward Ritchie Press, February, 1952]

WILKER, EDWIN FRANCIS

Five Prehistoric Archeological Sites in Los Angeles County, California. Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1951. 116 p. illus. $3.50. [Vol. VI of the publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund. Apply to publisher.]

WILSON, NEILL C., and FRANK J. TAYLOR

Southern Pacific; the Roaring Story of a Fighting Railroad. N. Y., McGraw-Hill, 1952. viii, 256 p. illus. $4.50.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

December 1, 1951, to March 1, 1952

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN, San Francisco – Billheads of Taaffe, M'Cahill & Co., James Laidley's Chelsea Laundry, Richards and Company's Oriental Coal Yard, and the Pacific Club, all of San Francisco, 1855-1865.

From ANONYMOUS DONOR – Fenstermaker, Carrie Allen. *The Fabric of a Dream and Shorter Verse*. San Francisco, 1923.

From MR. CLYDE ARBUCKLE, San Jose – Triplett, Frank. *Conquering the Wilderness* . . . N. Y., 1885; California Historical Survey Commission. *California in the War* . . . [Sacramento, 1921]; Duniway, C. A. *Report of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association*. Washington, 1906; Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors. *Ordinances of the County of Santa Clara* . . . San Jose, 1913, and *Annual Statement of the Finance Committee* . . . [San Jose, 1904]; California Supreme Court. *Calendar for October Term, 1877*. Sacramento, 1877, and *Calendar for May Term*, 1879. Sacramento, 1879; Conservatory of Music Association. *Fourth of July, 1776-1892 . . . at the Campus of University of Pacific* . . . [San Jose, 1892]; 15 legal briefs relating to the estate of William C. Hinckley; Henry F. Emeric *vs.* Henry V. Alvarado; Joseph Emeric *vs.* Juan B. Alvarado; Reuben S. Carpentier *vs.* Z. Montgomery; H. M. Moore *vs.* W. R. Morrow; John B. Ward *vs.* Thomas W. Mulford and E. Minor Smith; Hugh Harvey *vs.* W. D. Ryan; Joseph Martin *vs.* Marks Zellerbach; William H. Duryea *vs.* Hiram Burt; H. W. Peck *vs.* F. A. Hihn and J. P. P. Vandenbergh; Elisha Holcomb *vs.* State of California and California and Oregon Railroad Company; María de los Angeles Majors *vs.* Henry Cowell; and Maria Hardenbergh *vs.* Hiram Bacon and J. W. Woodruff; and eight pamphlets relating to Santa Clara County.

From MRS. ELMA P. ATCHISON, Folsom – Her: *The Old Sacramento Valley Railroad* [manuscript]; expense bill, Sacramento and Placerville Railroad Co., 1883; prospectus and map of Natoma Water and Mining Co.'s property in Sacramento County, 1888; advertising folder of the Manzanita Homekrafters, Placerville, *ca.* 1910; souvenir booklet of the 10th annual El Dorado County Fair and Horse Show, 1951; 18 issues of the *Pacific Rural Press*, San Francisco, 1882-1884; Davis, John F., comp. *California Laws Made Plain*. [n. p.] c1914; photographs of the Natoma railroad station and a gold dredge at Nimbus; and current Folsom and Sacramento newspapers containing items of historical interest.

From MR. E. GEOFFREY BANGS, San Francisco – Seven photographs of the Carmel Mission and historic buildings at Monterey, 1903 and 1920.

From MRS. HELEN R. BEACH, San Francisco – Four programs of the Orpheum Circuit, San Francisco, 1896-1910.

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino – His second series of weekly articles appearing in the San Bernardino *Sun-Telegram* covering local history of the post-Mormon period.

From MR. OWEN BIDDLE, Philadelphia – A collection of over 100 stock certificates issued by various California corporations in the early 1900's.

From RENE BINE, M. D., San Francisco – Rodriguez, Marie Louise (Bine). *The Earthquake of 1906.* San Francisco, 1951.

From MR. ALLEN C. BLAISDELL, Berkeley – Two photographs and two pamphlets illustrating the activities of the International House, Berkeley.

From MRS. MAE HELENE BACON BOGGS, Shasta – Fletcher, Robert H., ed. *The Annals of the Bohemian Club.* [San Francisco, 1898-1909] 3 vols.

From MRS. AMY BOWER, Sonoma – Her: *Songs of Sonoma.* [Santa Rosa, 1951]

From MRS. FLORENCE DANFORTH BOYLE, Oroville – Six mementos of the Native Daughters of the Golden West and the American Legion Auxiliary; the 1931-32 *Yearbook* of the Monday Club, Oroville; and the *Oroville Mercury,* May 5, 1927 [historical edition].

From MISS ESTO B. BROUGHTON, Modesto – Thirteen biographical records of Stanislaus and San Joaquin County pioneers.

From MRS. CHARLES BULOTTI, JR., San Francisco – Additional materials on The Babies' Aid, San Francisco, including the organization's *Minutes,* 1919-37, 1945-49.

From MRS. IRMA KESSLER BURKE, Berkeley – Additional papers, 1872-1951, of her parents, Richard T. "Pop" Kessler and Emma Michaelis Kessler, consisting of certificates, a photograph of Kessler, and a scrapbook of clippings relating to Kessler's Pabst Cafe, Oakland.

From MRS. RUTH MASON CALDERWOOD, Palo Alto – Manly, William Lewis. *Death Valley in '49* . . . San Jose, 1894; Sioli, Paolo. *Historical Souvenir of El Dorado County* ... Oakland, 1883; Byington, Lewis F. *Sierra County and Its Historic Past.* [n. p., n. d.]; and a program of the First Unitarian Church, San Francisco, 1894.

From THE CALIFORNIA FRUIT EXCHANGE, Sacramento – Its: *Blue Anchor,* consisting of 23 bound volumes, from vol. 1, no. 1 to 1952 and continuation.

From THE CALIFORNIA STATE DIVISION OF MINES, San Francisco – Its: *Bulletin 154, December, 1951* [being a] *Geologic Guidebook of the San Francisco Bay Counties* ... [Sacramento, 1951]

From MR. W. W. CHAPIN, San Francisco, through MR. RALPH L. PHELPS, Berkeley – Portrait of Frank M. Pixley (1825-1895), editor of the *Argonaut,* San Francisco; enlarged, photostatic copy of the Apr. 21, 1906 "Earthquake Edition" of the *Argonaut* published at San Jose; and current and future issues of the *Argonaut.*

From THE CHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, West Chester, Penn. – Letter of Joseph Shirk, Santa Clara, 1861, describing a trip to Virginia City.

From MR. HENRY H. CLIFFORD, Los Angeles – A subscription to *Western Express; Newsletter of the Western Cover Society.*

From MRS. RALPH COFFEY, Oakland – Photograph of San Francisco in the 1860's, looking north from the Cosmopolitan Hotel.

From MR. ALBERT E. CONLON, San Francisco – A Paymaster checkwriter and protector.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR., Berkeley – A contribution to the Library Fund for the purchase of card catalog filing cases and pamphlet boxes.

From MSGR. JAMES CULLETON, Fresno – Rowland, Leon. *Los Fundadores.* Fresno, 1951.

From MRS. HELEN BAKER CURRIE, Salinas – Program of H. L. Schemmel and his pupils, *ca.* 1883; and two notices of exhibitions at the Snow and May Gallery, San Francisco.

From MR. CHRIS D'AMANDA, Exeter, N. H. – Diary, 1846-47, of Joshua S. Vincent, a member of Stevenson's California Regiment.

From MRS. DONALD DAVIES, Salinas – Current pamphlets, newspaper accounts, and souvenir programs illustrative of Monterey County history; and a list of Spanish land grants in the county compiled in 1950 by Chester Dudley, County Surveyor.

From MR. DON DRIESE, San Diego – Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, San Diego. *Borrego Springs; Desert Playground.* San Diego, c1951.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY, Berkeley – Pages from an autograph album bearing inscriptions by Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, and other stage personalities of the 1870's; and bookplates designed by Wyman Taylor for various members of the Drury family.

From MRS. B. L. DUNSHEE, Ross – [Marin Conservation League] *Exploring Marin.* [n. p., 1941-48] 3 numbers; [Railroadians of America] *Mt. Tamalpais & Muir Woods Ry. Memorial Calendar.* [Salinas, c1951]; California Department of Natural Resources. *Map of California State Parks and Historical Monuments.* [Sacramento] 1948; *Mt. Tamalpais and Vicinity ... 1915* [photographic copy of map]; Philips, C. A., *Hikers Guide; Trails and Distances of Marin County, Calif.* [n. p., n. d.]; a group of newspapers and newspaper clippings pertaining to the history of Marin County; and an aerial photograph of Angel Island, also showing Belvedere and Tiburon.

From MR. PERRY EVANS, Berkeley – [Pacific Club, San Francisco] *Constitution and By-Laws and Officers and Members ...* [San Francisco] 1888.

From MRS. RONALD E. FOSTER, Berkeley – The bookplate of her father, John D. Galloway.

From MISS KATHARINE FURMAN, Schenectady, N. Y. – One hundred sixty-five post card views of California.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER, San Francisco – Catalogs of the Gantner and Mattern Company, 1906 and 1910, illustrating knit goods and swimming suits; typed reminiscences of his father, John O. Gantner; lists of members of Lincoln Grammar School classes, San Francisco, 1883-88; photographs of the San Francisco Entre Nous Club, *ca.* 1895, Palace Hotel banquet in honor of Woodrow Wilson, opening day at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915, Hotel Schweizerhof, San Francisco, 1869, Portola Festival, 1919, interiors of the Gantner and Mattern Company, 1905, members of the Gantner, Vallejo, Scatena, Bachmann, and Steinegger families; and 68 additional views of California buildings and scenes.

From the REV. GERALD J. GEARY, Saratoga – Typewritten copy of his address before the Society at the University of Santa Clara, Sept., 1951.

From MISS ENID S. GRIFFITH, Penryn – Biographical data of six members of the Griffith family, founders of Penryn.

From MR. DAN GUTLEBEN, San Francisco – A collection of photostats and photographs illustrating the history of the California Sugar Refinery, San Francisco.

From MR. PHIL TOWNSEND HANNA, Los Angeles – His: *The Dictionary of California Land Names ...* Los Angeles, 1951.

From MR. PAUL HENCHEY, Brisbane – Photograph of the Nye County Court House, Belmont, Nevada.

From DR. FREDERICK WEBB HODGE, Los Angeles – Walker, Edwin Francis. *Five Prehistoric Archeological Sites in Los Angeles County ...* Los Angeles, 1951.

From MRS. HELEN HOGUE, Redding – Twenty-seven biographical records of Shasta County pioneers; photograph of George Albro; Kennett *Copper Outlook,* May 14, 1915; Redding *Searchlight,* Jan. 2, 1903; and *Shasta Courier,* Mar. 11, 1871.

From MISS CHLOE HOLT, Berkeley – Photograph and biographical sketch of her father, William Franklin Holt, of Holtville and the Imperial Valley.

From MRS. WILLIAM H. HOMER, Ben Lomond – Fifteen group photographs giving a complete photographic record of the First Regiment of California Volunteers, Spanish-American War, 1899; flag of Co. F, same regiment; two group photographs of officers of Coast Artillery Corps, 1910, 1912; L. Maynard Dixon's souvenir calendar, 1898, containing autographs of Co. F; Morrow, William W. *The Earthquake of April 18, 1906 ... Personal Experiences.* [n. p., n. d.]; San Francisco *Range Finder,* Sept., 1914; two war letters from Mr. Homer and John A. Miller; and a Christmas souvenir from Miller, 1913.

From MISS MARIAN O. HOOKER, Santa Barbara – Thirty-two photographs of members of the Searle and Haight families, and of her mother, Mrs. Katharine Putnam Hooker, Robert Sherwood, Theodore Wores, Arthur Mathews, Bruce Porter, A. M. Wilder, and others, all taken in San Francisco, *ca.* 1885.

From MR. WARREN HOWELL, San Francisco – [Directory Publishing Co., San Francisco] *San Mateo, Burlingame, and Homestead Directory* ... [1907-08. San Francisco, n. d.]; McKenney, L. M., and Co., pubs. *Stockton City, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Calaveras, Tuolumne and Contra Costa Counties Directory ... 1884-5.* San Francisco, 1884; [*San Francisco 100 Vara Survey Block Book.* n. p., n. d.]; [*San Francisco 50 Vara Survey Block Book.* n. p., n. d.]; and *Map Showing the Location of the Property of the Mission Street Extension* [of the] *Homestead Association* ... San Francisco [n. d.]

From MRS. JOSEPH HUFF, San Francisco – *South of Market Journal,* San Francisco, 1925-28.

From MRS. CHARLES JANIN, Piedmont – Oil painting, 1897, of Milton Latham, nephew of U. S. Senator Milton S. Latham.

From MR. J. W. JOHNSON, Berkeley – Copy of a Watkins photograph showing a collection of gold mining implements.

From MR. EDGAR M. KAHN, San Francisco – His: *Bret Harte in California; a Character Study.* San Francisco, 1951.

From MR. LAWTON KENNEDY, San Francisco – Billheads of Arthur M. Ebbets, Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Co., and Dunham, Carrigan & Hayden Co., San Francisco, 1881-98.

From GEORGE H. KRESS, M. D., Los Angeles – Biographical information on Dr. John S. Griffin.

From MR. JEROME LANDFIELD, San Francisco – *Almanach of Official Personages of Russia,* 1804. [In Russian, and containing a listing of Nicholas Rezanov]

From ALEXANDER T. LEONARD, JR., M. D., San Francisco – Hichborn, Franklin. *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1909.* San Francisco, 1909, and *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1911.* San Francisco, 1911.

From MR. AND MRS. HOBART M. LOVETT, Berkeley – Stillwell, B. F. *Directory of the Township and City of Oakland, Together with the Townships of Brooklyn and Alameda for the Year 1869* ... [Oakland] 1869.

From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, San Francisco – Lyman, George D. *John Marsh, Pioneer* ... N. Y., 1930 [one of 20 copies reserved for presentation].

From MRS. FRANCES TURNER McBETH, Oakland – Twenty-five copies of her *Lower Klamath County* (Berkeley, 1950) to be sold for the benefit of the Society.

From MR. AUGUSTIN S. MACDONALD, Oakland – Shutes, Milton H. *Lincoln and California.* Stanford [c1943]; and Dane, George Ezra. *Ghost Town* ... N. Y. [c1941]

From the REV. JOHN B. McGLOIN, S. J., San Francisco – His: *Michael Accolti, Gold Rush Padre and Founder of the California Jesuits.* [Reprinted from *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* 1951]

From MRS. C. E. MACKENZIE, Los Gatos – A Folder of writings of her father, George Webster Chapman, on historic spots in northern California and on Indians.

From MR. CLAUDE MAER, Fort Worth, Texas – Typewritten copy of the diary of J. C. McBride, 1850-52, a resident of San Francisco and the Placerville vicinity.

From MR. J. W. MAILLIARD, JR., San Francisco – Two San Francisco deeds between John Trubody, Robert T. Ridley, and James D. Branigan, 1849-50; and copy of letter written by Elmer E. Enewold describing the San Francisco fire and earthquake, 1906.

From MR. FRED MEIER, Woodland – Photostat of *Mapa Del Valle Del Sacramento* [showing boundaries of ranchos therein, *ca.* 1844, case no. 197 ND]

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN, Los Banos – His: *Mission San Juan Bautista.* [n. p., c1939] *San Juan Bautista, California.* [Los Banos, c1950]; and *San Juan Bautista, California; the City of History.* [Los Banos, c1951]

From MRS. HOMER H. MITTEN, Piedmont – Framed exhibit of Army Corps badges of the Spanish-American War belonging to General Oscar F. Long; San Francisco *Bulletin,* Sept. 20, 1881 and Aug. 12, 1914; San Francisco *Chronicle,* Sept. 20, 1881 and Aug. 10-11, 1914; San Francisco *Call,* Sept. 20, 1881; and Oakland *Tribune,* Sept. 20, 1881.

From MRS. JAMES HAMILTON MOFFETT, Oakland – [Hoppin, Charles Rossiter] *Charles Rossiter Hoppin; Some of His Letters Home, 1849-1863, as Written to His Family in Niles, Michigan, Following His Immigration to California in 1849.* Oakland, 1948.

From MISS HELEN C. MURRAY, San Francisco – San Francisco *Examiner,* Nov. 14, 1886; and San Francisco *Chronicle,* Oct. 18, 1891 and Dec. 1, 1899.

From MR. MELVILLE C. NATHAN, San Francisco – Letter of Gov. John McDougal granting a pardon, Vallejo, 1851; letter of Jacob R. Snyder concerning the survey of the Ranchos Temecula and Pauba, San Diego County, *ca.* 1846; and contemporary copy of 1845 decree regarding the Rancho Temecula issued by José R. Argüello at San Diego.

From MRS. JAMES C. OEHLER, Dallas, Texas – Letterbook of Charles Frederick Winslow containing mainly copies of letters written from San Francisco, 1849.

From MRS. GLADYS P. PIERCE, Greenfield – Typewritten copy of an undated *Narrative of Journey* by sea taken by Theodore Dehone Judah from San Francisco to the East Coast.

From PLANS AND PLANTING COMMITTEE, COMMUNITY ARTS ASSOCIATION, Santa Barbara – [First National Trust and Savings Bank of Santa Barbara] *Facts Behind the Fame of Santa Barbara...* [Santa Barbara, 1952]; and Santa Barbara Public Library Reference Department. *Backgrounds of Santa Barbara.* Santa Barbara, 1952.

From MISS MARGARET POLLOK, San Francisco – A silk badge issued on an official tag day, San Francisco, 1910.

From MR. LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL, Los Angeles – His: *From Private Collection to Public Institution: The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.* [Reprinted from the *Library Quarterly,* April, 1950]; and Archer, H. Richard. *Literary and Historical Manuscripts in the Clark Memorial Library.* [Reprinted from the *Autograph Collectors' Journal,* Jan., 1951]

From MRS. E. BARNUM POWER, San Francisco – Photographs of her grandfather, Z. P. Davis, and of his 1853 home in Nevada City; and his U. S. flag used in mourning the deaths of Presidents Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley.

From MISS FANNY JEFFERS PRAY, Berkeley – Letter written by her grandfather, Samuel Hopkins Willey, on board the *Falcon*, Dec. 26, 1848.

From the ELSIE GRIFFIN JOHNSTON PRICHARD Estate, San Francisco – California. Board of Horticulture. *Annual Report*, 1891, 1892; Johnston, William Preston. *Pictures of the Patriarchs and Other Poems.* New Orleans, 1895 [copies presented to his mother, Mrs. Albert Sidney Johnston, and his sister, Mrs. Margaret Johnston Prichard]; Wickson, Edward J. *The California Fruits and How to Grow Them* . . . San Francisco, 1889; California Bureau of Highways. *Biennial Report, 1895-1896;* Hufford, D. A. *El Camino Real* . . . Los Angeles, 1901; James, George Wharton. *In and Out of the Old Missions of California* . . . N. Y. [c 1927]; James, Juliet. *Palaces and Courts of the Exposition* . . . San Francisco, 1915; [Brandt, Fred and Andrew Y. Wood] *Fascinating San Francisco.* San Francisco, 1924; Blake, Evarts I., comp. *San Francisco; a Brief Biographical Sketch of Some of the Most Prominent Men* . . . San Francisco, c1902; Allen, Benjamin Shannon, ed. *California from 1769 to 1909; an Illustrated History* . . . *Volume II.* San Francisco, 1910; Edwords, Clarence E. *Bohemian San Francisco* . . . San Francisco [c1914]; U. S. Works Projects Administration. *Almanac for Thirty-Niners* . . . Stanford [c1938]; Griffin, John S. *A Doctor Comes to California* . . . San Francisco, 1943; Burness, Jessie Niles. *Sculpture and Mural Paintings* . . . San Francisco, 1915; Cardinell-Vincent Co. *San Francisco; the City Loved Around the World.* San Francisco, c1915; Sunset Press, pub. *A Picture Journey Through California* . . . San Francisco [n. d.]; Perry, Stella George S. *The Sculpture and Murals of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* . . . San Francisco, 1915; album of snapshots of the Albert Sidney Johnston and William Bond Prichard families, 1901; three 19th century water colors of San Luis Obispo County scenes; a Civil War dispatch case; and numerous post card views of California scenes.

From MISS HELEN ROBERTSON, Ojai – Ball and chain and ankle chain used in the early days of the Ventura County jail.

From MRS. B. L. SAEGER, Ojai – [Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Co., San Francisco] *Telephone Directory, State of California, March, 1896.* [San Francisco, 1896]; and a manifest of the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., 1893.

From MRS. EDNA D. SAMPSON, Grass Valley – Scrapbook prepared by the Manzanita Chapter, N. D. G. W., Grass Valley, *ca.* 1932; scrapbook of clippings relating to California history; [Nevada County Board of Supervisors] *Nevada County; Gold Capitol of California.* [Grass Valley, n. d.]; manuscript essay on Grass Valley, 1883; Nevada County Historical Society [*Bulletin*], Feb., 1952; photographs of Grass Valley and Nevada City buildings, Grass Valley High School Class of 1889, a miner panning for gold, and Charles C. Moore Company office, San Francisco, 1897; pamphlets and invitations pertaining to Nevada and Sierra County; and a large number of local newspaper clippings giving obituaries and historical articles.

From MRS. VELTA MYRLE (ALLEN) SANFORD, San Francisco – Her: *Within Adobe Walls.* [Sunland] 1948.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Photographs of the John Curtin residence, Cloudman's, 1880's; Leidig family, Yosemite Valley, 1888; and the Willow Springs School, Tuolumne County, with teacher and pupils, *ca.* 1893.

From MR. SIDNEY L. SCHWARTZ, San Francisco – Street car transfer, citizens' police badge, and official broadside notice, all illustrative of San Francisco's fire and earthquake, 1906.

From MR. IRVING M. SCOTT, JR., Berkeley – Additional printed and manuscript materials relating to the Scott and Waterman families and including the Marysville *Herald*, Aug. 14, 1852 and the Downieville *Sierra Citizen*, July 8, 1854.

From ALBERT SHUMATE, M. D., San Francisco – Eleven club pass cards illustrative of the Prohibition era in San Francisco.

From MRS. ESTHER R. SMITH, Gasquet – San Francisco business cataogs of C. F. Weber & Co., 1930, California Door Co., 1910, Witte Engine Works, 1923, Howe Scale Co. [n. d.], and Dunham, Carrigan & Hayden Co., 1920; typewritten biography of Peter Louis De Martin (1839-1907); and three pamphlets relating to Del Norte County.

From COL. WADDELL F. SMITH, San Rafael – Settle, Raymond W., and Mary Lund Settle. *Empire on Wheels.* Stanford, 1949. [Autographed presentation copy]

From SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY, San Francisco – Its: *Sierra Crest and Canyon* . . . San Francisco, c1916; *The Overland Route* . . . [n. p.] 1908; *A Picture Journey Through California* . . . San Francisco [n. d.]; and *Railroad Gazetteer*, Sept., 1887.

From MRS. H. A. SPOEHR, Palo Alto – Photograph of Theodore Dehone Judah, Central Pacific Railroad promoter.

From MR. JOHN STREH, Oakland – Two letters, two election cards, and an invitation, Booneville and Peralta, 1873-92.

From MR. REGINALD R. STUART, San Leandro – His: *San Leandro; a History.* San Leandro, 1951; and Pesante, Maude T. *The Tuttle Family.* [Oakland?, n. d.]

From MRS. A. P. SWINGLE, Quincy – Three biographical records of Plumas County pioneers.

From MR. GENE M. TANSEY, San Francisco – His: *Devious Pastoral; or Beyond the Shadow of a Doubt.* San Francisco, 1952.

From MR. PATRICK TRAIN, Auburn – Registers of the Freeman Hotel, Auburn, 1890-1902, in which are mounted prescriptions of the Stevens Drug Store, Auburn, 1893-1910 (16 vols.); Drug Store ledgers, 1898-1910, 1932-33 (4 vols.); and Drug Store narcotics register, 1915-23 (1 vol.)

From MISS EMILY L. TURNER, Berkeley – [Roos, Robert A.] *The Story of Roos Bros.; Outfitters Since 1865.* San Francisco, 1945; Brennan, John. *Erin Mor: The Story of Irish Republicanism.* San Francisco, 1892; and Mailliard, Joseph. *Handbook of the Birds of Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.* San Francisco, 1930.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, Los Angeles – [Powell, Lawrence Clark, ed.] *Rare Books and Research; Addresses Given at the Dedication of the Department of Special Collections, July 28, 1950.* Los Angeles, 1951.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Berkeley – Baegert, Johann Jacob, S. J. *Observations in Lower California* . . . Berkeley, 1952; and Mowry, George E. *The California Progressives.* Berkeley, 1951.

From MR. OZE VAN WYCK, San Francisco – Medal issued in commemoration of the 22nd triennial conclave, Independent Order of Good Templars, San Francisco, 1883.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER, San Marino – His: *Sixty Years of Book Collecting.* San Francisco, 1952; and Willey, Samuel Hopkins. *An Historical Paper Relating to Santa Cruz* . . . San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft, 1876.

From MR. AND MRS. MATT WAHRHAFTIG, Piedmont – Five volumes of mounted theatrical and musical programs, in addition to more than 100 unmounted programs, San Francisco Bay region, 1883-1929; Sacramento and San Francisco high school diplomas of Albert Lavenson and Amy Furth, 1881-86; resolutions passed by the University of California Board of Regents on the death of Jacob Bert Reinstein, 1911; register used for visitors at *Vista Redondo*, 1880-98, 1914-21, home of George Tasheira; Clark, Galen. *Indians of the Yosemite Valley* . . . Yosemite Valley, 1907; [Cade and Franz] *Official Guide and Maps of San Francisco Street-Railways* [San Francisco, c1894]; and three newspapers, 17 pamphlets, and 44 photographs illustrative of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906.

From MR. GEORGE COSSITT WHITE, Pasadena – His: *One Star* [a musical composition] Pasadena [c1949]

From MRS. HOLLIS WHITE, Chicago – Manuscript and printed selections of the letters and speeches of her father, Brig. Gen. Horatio Gates Wilson; and two photographs of General Wilson, 1889 and 1922.

From DR. AND MRS. LYNN T. WHITE, JR., Mills College – *What's Past is Prologue; a Century of Education, 1852-1952.* Mills College [1952]; and five photographs of historic Shasta buildings, *ca.* 1916.

From MRS. EMMA E. WILCOX, Hat Creek – Biographical records of three Shasta County pioneers; and the Fall River *Tidings,* Feb. 25, 1944 (50th Anniversary Edition).

From MRS. JOSEFA PERALTA WILSON, Piedmont – Framed wash drawing of her grandmother, Mrs. Rafaela Sánchez de Peralta, wife of Ignacio; framed oil paintings of Joaquín Peralta, by Joaquín Torres in 1863, and Rafael Peralta; and a photograph of Mrs. William Pinckney Toler, all children of Mrs. Peralta.

From THE WOMEN'S SOCIETY, OJAI PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH – McGroarty, John Steven. *California of the South; a History.* Chicago, 1933-35 (5 vols.); and Ojai Presbyterian Church. *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1877-1952.* [n. p., 1952]

From MRS. ANITA WHITING YOUNG, Redding – *Great Register, Shasta County, 1872.* Shasta, 1872; biographical record of Danforth Whiting (1817-84); a Custom Ore Statement issued by the Mountain Copper Co., Shasta, 1903; and San Francisco *Water and Land,* June, 1886.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

For the Year Ending December 31, 1951

It is gratifying to report that the impetus gained by the California Historical Society during the centennial celebrations experienced no interruption during 1951. Through the combined efforts of the officers and staff, the directors and committees, and the membership generally, the activity of our organization was, in fact, intensified.

As the California Historical Society is dependent upon its membership, it is good to be able to report that at the year-end the total membership was the largest it has ever recorded—1635 members, representing a net gain during the year of 100. Of these, 1431 were active members, a net gain of 85; 171 were sustaining members, a net gain of 11; and 33 were patron members, a net gain of 4.

At the end of 1948, the membership was 1443. Looking back ten years, to the end of 1941, we note that the Society then had 602 members, so that in the decade we have far more than doubled our membership. Consequently, the Society is now better off financially than ever before, and its usefulness thereby increased.

However, statistics do not give the full story of our progress. It has been the keen interest of the members which has counted for so much, and in this we wish to acknowledge especially not only the participation of the thousand new members we have gained during the decade but also the loyalty of the "Old Guard," some of whom have been members since the Society's reorganization here in 1922. Though not a charter member, I myself have been a member since that year. This brings to mind that in 1952 we will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the reorganized California Historical Society (the name perpetuating that of an organization established in 1852, just a hundred years ago, and which was incorporated in 1886).

Directors re-elected at the annual meeting in January 1951 were K. K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Ralph H. Cross, Sr., Aubrey Drury, Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr., Joseph R. Knowland, J. Ward Mailliard, Jr., and Porter Sesnon. Newly elected as directors, replacing Mrs. Elizabeth Gray Potter and Mrs. Daniel Volkmann, were Mrs. William Cavalier and Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin. In accordance with the by-laws, at the first meeting of the directors following the election, officers of the Society were elected. These were Aubrey Drury, president; Joseph R. Knowland, 1st vice-president; Porter Sesnon, 2d vice-president; and Francis P. Farquhar, 3d vice-president; Warren R. Howell, secretary; and George L. Harding, treasurer.

The Board of Directors held eleven meetings during the year. As is customary, they held no meeting in July.

Eight luncheon meetings were held in San Francisco. The dates of these meetings and the speakers and their topics, were:

January 26: Edward T. Planer, Jr., "Some Observations of California Mission Life" (illustrated).
March 8: Dr. Carl P. Russell, "One Hundred Years in Yosemite" (illustrated).
April 12: Dr. Peter T. Conmy, "The Vigilance Committee of 1851; a Centennial."
May 10: Marshall Stimson, "Clipper Ships" (illustrated).
June 14: Carroll D. Hall, "Some Footnotes to Sutter's Fort."
September 13: Dr. Effie Mona Mack, "One Hundred Years of Nevada History."
October 11: Dr. Aubrey Neasham, "Alaska: Historic Links with California" (illustrated).
November 8: Dr. J. N. Bowman, "The Passing of California Historical Traditions."

Two special meetings were held during the year: The first, which took the form of an open-house on February twelfth at our headquarters, was even more successful than the one held the previous year. The other special meeting — a pilgrimage to the University of Santa Clara and Mission Santa Clara on September twenty-third — was attended by a large gathering of members and their friends, and carried out the Society's policy of holding occasional meetings away from San Francisco.

The thanks of the California Historical Society have been expressed to the speakers who have contributed so much to the success of our meetings. To Mr. Anson S. Blake, chairman of our committee on luncheon meetings, and to the members of that committee we are especially grateful for the arrangements.

The California Historical Society QUARTERLY completed its thirtieth year of publication, and the NOTES its third. The last complete set of each was disposed of during the year. Miss G. C. Wickson, editor of the QUARTERLY, and the editorial advisory committee have maintained the standards set by this publication in the past. The NOTES, written by our managing director, Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, are valuable in keeping members and the public informed as to our month-to-month activities, and developments in the field of California history.

Two publications were issued in December: *Bear Flag Lieutenant*, the life story of Henry L. Ford, by Colonel Fred B. Rogers, as Special Publication No. 24; and *The Peraltas and their Houses*, by Dr. J. N. Bowman, as Pamphlet No. 18.

Particular attention was given the exhibits in the Society's rooms during the year. These have been arranged by Miss Agnes Fischer, who has devoted much care and skill to making them bright and appealing. The McAllister Street window has presented continually changed exhibits, appropriate items being shown for successive holidays and for the convention of the American College of Surgeons. Among other displays were: old-time keys, jewelry and other personal adornments; Abraham Lincoln and California; governors of the state and papers relating to them; gambling; transportation and shipping; Pony Express; and extensive displays from the George D. Lyman collection, and from the James M. Alden watercolors of California.

The report of the librarian, Mr. James deTarr Abajian, is being presented at this meeting. To him I wish to express thanks for his untiring and effective work on behalf of the Society.

All gifts have been acknowledged in the QUARTERLY, and the major acquisitions have been described in the NOTES. The activity in organizing a statewide members' library committee (with one member in each county) has brought in a steady flow of materials which would otherwise be unobtainable. For this we are most grateful to Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Sr., chairman of the committee on library and gifts.

Appearances of the president and managing director upon television and radio programs have been followed by a marked increase in public interest in the Society. Publicity in newspapers and magazines has continued and increased. The chairman of our committee on publicity and membership is the Hon. Joseph R. Knowland.

The Society's president spoke upon our work and upon California history in San Jose, San Mateo, Oakland and Yreka, Siskiyou County.

During the year, provision was made for sound-recording of all the speeches presented at our meetings. They are themselves of historic value, besides aiding in preparing the QUARTERLY and the NOTES.

In response to requests from authors, business firms, and interested amateur collectors and students, a brisk business has developed in the reproduction of pictures in the Society's collection. Since negatives of all the photographs so made are deposited at our headquarters, the file of such items has been greatly enlarged. Members and friends are reminded that photographs of people and places, particularly when identified, are always sought for inclusion in our collections.

In all, twenty-three names were inscribed in the "Book of Remembrance" during 1951, and the library was enlarged by a corresponding number of books and manuscripts, purchased from contributions in memory of those thus honored.

Our special thanks go to the chairmen and members of the standing committees of the Society. [See page 95 for committee personnel.] Although 1951 was a year of substantial accomplishment, we look forward to greater years to come. As I retire from the presidency, with which I have been honored for the past three years, I express my appreciation to the California Historical Society and its members.

AUBREY DRURY

January 25, 1952

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR 1951

During the past year, the large number of gifts (as listed in each QUARTERLY), purchases of manuscripts and books, and the many items collected by the Society's state-wide library committee have enlarged greatly the library's usefulness. This usefulness is reflected in the quality of the aid given to the steady flow of students, engaged in research, from the majority of California's counties, colleges and universities. Visitors also arrived from all parts of the United States and from several foreign countries. Among those interested in tracing the California activities of their forebears was a grandson of the Russian Admiral Popoff, commander of a squadron in San Francisco Bay during our Civil War.

The combination of gifts and visiting students brings to mind an example of how cooperative scholarship can be, and how quickly gifts may be utilized. Early this fall, our staff was of some assistance to the author of a recent biography of Thomas Starr King. In the process of his work, the gentleman presented to the Society a small collection of papers belonging to his grandfather, Henry Payot, early San Francisco bookseller and stationer. Later, there arrived on our desk, within a few days of each other, the new biography of Starr King and the current issue of the QUARTERLY. In the one, acknowledgment was given to the Society for its aid to the author; in the other, it was found that Dr. Hugh Baker had made use of the Payot Papers in our library to further the scholarly character of his *The Book Trade in California, 1849-1859.*

In addition to visitors in the library, each mail brings its quota of queries. Because of the time involved in answering these letters, often the entire staff sets off in pursuit of the answer to a query that may, in turn, have some effect upon another scholarly work pertaining to California history. We are answering the great majority of these questions through the resources of our enlarged library and its card catalogs, to which were added 21,000 cards—a number only appreciated when it is understood that the catalogs and indexes have been increased by one-third since February 1951. Suffice it to say, if your family or business created a large or even a very small impact upon California history, the library should have a record of it. If it fails to have this record, it is unintentional, and we invite your assistance in rectifying the omission.

In the constant organizing, reorganizing, and filing that characterizes historical libraries more than most other libraries, we have had the welcome aid of several volunteer workers, one of whom has given more than 200 hours of her time. Our own staff, too, has given generously of their time away from the Society's quarters.

In closing, we would like to mention one of the more important of the many current projects in which the library is engaged. As business firms grow older, they become more and more conscious of their own histories, and sooner or later turn to the Society for assistance. The initiation of a business collection, therefore, is the obvious step to be taken if the Society is to answer an increasing number of these queries. The collection will contain not only the printed, pictorial, and manuscript records of California business establishments, already a part of our library, but also business and trade cards, biographies of owners, company catalogs, letterheads and billheads, and all of the ephemera that may be of use in thoroughly documenting business history.

James de T. Abajian

NOTE: The complete librarian's report for 1951, of which this is but a general summary, is available in the files of the Society's library, for those wishing to consult it. [Ed.]

The Treasurer's Report for 1951 will appear in the June 1952 issue of the Quarterly.

Meetings

Speaker: Dr. J. N. Bowman

Date: November 8, 1951

Dr. Bowman's address, "The Passing of California Historical Traditions," was given at the final luncheon-meeting in 1951. It was No. 274 of such meetings after the reorganization of the Society in 1922, and represented a salutary exhortation not to be taken in by silken substitutes for hard, ascertainable facts. No objection would be raised if the silken-type authors started out, as Homer did, with "Sing, Goddess, the wrath of Achilles Peleus' son . . . that hurled down into Hades many strong souls of heroes. . . ." Placed thus frankly on his guard by the writer, the reader could enjoy the *conception* of heroes, if not their embodiment in flesh and blood.

Everyone remembers Romulus and Remus (though the she-wolf's name has not been preserved). Less familiar may be the "Donation" of spiritual and temporal power, alleged to have been made by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Silvester in the ninth century, and exposed to critical analysis by Lorenzo Valla in 1440. Valla's analysis was said by the speaker to have marked the beginning of critical studies and to have shown how great a service the spirit of curiosity can render to history. Dr. Bowman cited also the German scholar, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), who, in his *Roman History*, made use of inference in place of discredited tradition and wrote history by laying stress on laws and on social traits rather than on the nebulous givers of laws. And so the movement away from tradition as source material waxed strong; but in this country, three hundred years later, the Mecklenburg (North Carolina) resolutions, passed in May 1775, grew into the tradition that a declaration of independence had been passed at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, antedating by almost a year the great declaration of July 4, 1776.

The next century produced Herbert Baxter Adams (1850-1901), an American with a Ph.D. degree, summa cum laude, from Heidelberg (1876), and thereafter a member of the faculty of Johns Hopkins University. He was one of the founders of the American Historical Association in 1884. The same year, he wrote *Methods of Historical Study*, offering guidance in applying the analytic spirit.

In the Quarterly of this Society for March 1948, Dr. Bowman himself offered guidance in studies on the birthdays of urban communities, by advancing eleven propositions that might be taken as standard for such investigations, each step being dependent upon acceptable evidence. In his luncheon address, he touched on his system's applicability to San Francisco, whereby its birthday should be considered coincident with Gov. José Figueroa's order for creation of a presidial pueblo at Yerba Buena — November 3, 1834. He applied it also to the question of the founding of Mission Dolores, making the date June 29, 1776, when an enramada (brush hut chapel) was erected and the first mass said, and not the date given by Palou (Oct. 9, 1776) to avoid a conflict with law.

In passing, Dr. Bowman mentioned such persistent errors as Portóla instead of Portolá (the man himself never neglecting the accent in his signature); Sonoma, said to mean Valley of the Moon, instead of Land of the Nose, as the speaker's recent research has found; Camino Real, supposed to signify the King's Highway, but a little more critical knowledge of the Spanish language would have shown that *real*, placed after the noun, means simply the actual, real highway (moreover, the king made no provision for roads); the way in which people are apt to speak of Spanish grants, although 99% of the grants were made by Mexico, the error arising (and persisting) from the fact that the documents were written in Spanish. Another error often made was in the value assigned to the vara, a subject taken up at length by Dr. Bowman in the Society's December 1951 QUARTERLY ("Weights and Measures of Provincial California," pp. 315 ff).

Geographic situations can become legends; for example, the question arose as to the location of the old Spanish anchorage in San Francisco Bay, as it was abandoned after the great storm of 1824 had shown its unfitness. Tradition assigned no definiteness to its site, but a study, by the speaker, of maps brought together by the U. S. government within the last decade indicated its location. (*See* Bowman, this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1946, pp. 319 ff.)

Dr. Bowman spoke warmly in praise of the spirit of research which animates the graduate courses now being given at the universities, and of the facilities offered for research by the great and small collections of manuscripts and books throughout the country. Scholars, here and abroad, working with the original documents, are still destroying legends from the Greek and the Roman worlds, and seldom does the truth thus scrupulously unearthed offer less of interest than the erring legends.

Above, it was stated that Dr. Bowman's address was No. 274 in the series of luncheon meetings. This reviewer has gone through the list of subjects and finds that previous to the reorganization — that is, in the years 1886 to 1892 inclusive (the Society lapsed in 1893 until 1922) — there were two devoted to the materials and methods of history; viz., Prof. Bernard Moses on "The Data of Mexican and United States History," and Fred B. Perkins on "Methods of Historical Research." Among those given after the reorganization were: Dr. H. R. Wagner, on "The California Material in the Archives of Spain"; Robert E. Cowan on the "Bibliography of California," and again on "Some Romantic Realities in the History of California"; Carl I. Wheat on "Fact vs. Fancy in California's History"; E. A. Wiltsee on "The Truth about Frémont; an Inquiry"; Dr. Lynn T. White, Junior, on "Is History Becoming Less Interesting?"; Prof. John Hicks on "California in History"; and Dr. Robert G. Cleland on "The Valley of Dry Bones [historical type]." Thus the membership of the Society seems to have had periodic chances to keep abreast of fact in its revolt against fancy.

Speaker: LYNN TOWNSEND WHITE, JR.
Date: January 25, 1952

With neat turns of phrase by which he pointed up the meat of his discourse, President Lynn T. White, Jr., of Mills College kept the interest of the members and their guests at a high pitch, while he spoke to them of the current celebrations on his campus.

The founding of an institution of learning invariably is preceded by the conviction that facilities for systematic study are lacking and that something should be done about it. In Athens, as early as the fifth century B. C., Aspasia was complaining about the training of women in her time, and she showed what they could do by teaching rhetoric, herself, to Socrates and Pericles. (She was, we understand, very beautiful.) At last, before the first half of the nineteenth century A. D. drew to a close, one could say that something had been done about it – in fact, the training of women was so far advanced that Alexis de Tocqueville, who came to this country in 1831 (*Democracy in America*, first published in 1835) has a chapter on the subject, entitled "Education of Young Women in the United States," in which he says that its object was to arm each young woman's reason so that her individual independence would "exercise a proper control over itself." On the "verge of the wilderness," he remarks in the following chapter ("The Young Woman in the Character of a Wife"), he had met young women, who, "after having been brought up amidst all the comforts of the large towns of New England," had passed through privation and solitude without having "the springs of their courage" broken. And he adds, "I do not doubt that these young American women had amassed, in the education of their early years, that inward strength which they displayed under these circumstances."

How the education of these young American women became collegiate and then expansive, to the extent of crossing into Ohio and thence to California, was discussed at some length by Dr. White. A very strong New England tinge has, he says, attached to Mills during its entire development, from the time the trustees of a group of Californians, interested in starting a school for girls in Benicia, wrote to Governor Slade of Vermont asking for "good, sound teachers to run our school." Slade evidently advocated transforming the rest of the world into the likeness of New England by the sending of teachers. One of those sent was Mary Atkins, daughter of Ohio New Englanders. "She was," said Dr. White, "as New England as you could get and still be crossing the mountains." Crossing the mountains not only implied venturesomeness; it *was* it. According to Maj. E. A. Sherman, a fellow passenger, Miss Atkins wore bloomers on the ship coming up the coast from Panama in 1854. When she spoke of founding a female seminary in Benicia, the major advised her about it, but he also was firm about her not wearing bloomers.* He seems to have been ignorant of the fact that in 1851 they had been worn by what the *Alta California* called "two very respectable ladies in San Francisco," and that the ingenuousness with which Chinese women in the Bay city affected bifidity, took the sting out of the style.** Amelia Jenks Bloomer's improvement on Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller's idea was said, moreover, by a U. S. officer in 1853, to have "done wonders for Oregon — all the women emigrants, who cross the plains, dress in that style."† It is good to know that Miss Atkins' independence enabled her to retain them for her pupils' gymnastics and athletic exercises. Her Benicia seminary was, indeed, not a prim institution. It was too cosmopolitan for that. Recently, said Dr. White, he ran across some pictures of early professors at the school. From their countenances they appeared to have belonged to the group of intellectual emigrants, forced out of some countries in Europe during suppression of the revolutions of 1848. To this day, Mills has kept its faculty distinctly international.

A decade or so later, Miss Atkins visited the Sandwich Islands where she met Dr. Cyrus Mills and his wife Susan, principals of the Punahou School. In 1865, they came to Benicia and bought out Miss Atkins, just as she had bought out the original group of trustees. The Mills were, to use Dr. White's words, "the distillation of all the most ardent, and I say the most experimental, in the New England College tradition of that period." Mills, a graduate of Williams College, was an intimate friend of Mark Hopkins.†† Mrs. Mills was a graduate of Mary Lyon's Holyoke Female Seminary — the name was changed to Mt. Holyoke College in 1893. Before their Hawaiian experiences, the Mills had been missionaries in northern Ceylon, and the change to California, away from the tropics, was necessary to restore their health. In 1871, they decided to move again, this time to the country-side east of San Francisco Bay. In the course of time, Mills Hall (said to be finely representative of the Victorian Mansard of the 1870's) was erected. But the move to Oakland had raised the question of the continuity of the Mills establishment. Both Dr. and Mrs. Mills insisted that when they left Benicia they sold merely the buildings but moved the school. It so happened that most of the Benicia buildings were purchased from the Mills by a Rev. Mr. Pope. In the process, Dr. Mills neglected to specify that Pope should change the name of the institution whose casing, only, he was buying. Consequently, sharp differences of opinion have arisen as to the claim of Mills continuity with the Young Ladies Seminary at Benicia. The matter is complicated by the fact that in 1878 Mary Atkins, who had gone east, got homesick for California and returned to the state. She bought back what she regarded as her old school and maintained that her purchase represented a continued entity, not a new one. She died in 1883, and in 1886 her school closed. Thereafter, as Dr. White said, "the alumnae of the Benicia Seminary, and all those who graduated under the Mills, considered themselves Mills alumnae from the beginning. . . . They began having their reunions on the Mills campus . . . and in 1895 Mrs. Mills in a burst of charity included them all in the list of the Alumnae Association of the college. . . . Mr. [W. W.] Ferrier [*Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936*, Berkeley, 1937] says there is no institutional continuity but there is a complete continuity of tradition, and he concludes that as a result, in a very real sense, the Seminary of 1852 at Benicia lives in Mills College today. I ask nothing further, history being as complex as it is."

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*This QUARTERLY, June 1945, p. 165.

***Ibid.*, March 1949, p. 41.

†*Ibid.*, Sept. 1949, p. 202.

††Susan Mills left an endowment at Mills College, the chair of Moral and Mental Philosophy, in memory of Hopkins; and there is also at the college a scholarship in his memory.

In 1877, Dr. Mills had incorporated the college as a non-profit institution under a board of trustees, and he and his wife granted most of their property to it. He had also before his death in 1884 laid plans for securing the four-year-course charter, which was granted in 1885.

Clashes of personalities arose between Mrs. Mills and the college's high officials during the years after Dr. Mills died. In 1890 the trustees reached a solution by electing Mrs. Mills president at the age of sixty-five. She remained president for nineteen years. At her retirement, she turned over the presidency to Luella Clay Parsons, who had been one of the girls migrating from Benicia to the present site in 1871. The two women were devoted friends, and when Mrs. Mills died in 1912 Miss Parsons lingered on in office only two years.

The college meanwhile was progressing in its search for distinctive qualities. Little was endowed at Mills, and it was being overshadowed by the University of California and Stanford University. "Five weeks," as Dr. White pointed out, "after Mills College got its charter as a four-year college, the Stanfords made the biggest gift that had ever been made to higher education. . . ." Also, when Mrs. Stanford decided to admit 500 women (no one imagined the number would ever be reached), her act focussed the attention of western women to a great degree upon Stanford.

Mrs. Mills' position was very difficult. She had, the speaker said, "to work out a commodity which was saleable. In other words, she had to find a kind of education which would be different from the kinds of education available in these two large neighboring institutions." In this extremity, Mrs. Mills made up her mind to follow the tradition of the old New England college — a tradition providing that the different aspects of college life should be affected not by sectarian but by religious values. The result is that today there is at Mills a very deep concern for the values of religion. In furthering it, the college is blessed by having as a chaplain, George Hedley (see his *The Superstitions of the Irreligious*).

Two other things were clear to Mrs. Mills: (1) that the old tradition of the Liberal Arts should be supplemented by the Fine Arts; and (2) that Mills was established for the purpose of educating women; she therefore set up in 1906 what Dr. White referred to as the first Home Economics Department on the Pacific coast. This was at a time when the usual idea regarding that branch of instruction connected it with the land-grant institutions of the middle west, for the edification of farm girls.

In closing, Dr. White spoke with admiration of Aurelia Reinhardt (whose successor he is), calling her "one of the very few great people it has been my privilege to know. . . . She was an army with banners. I think none of us will ever forget her."

In Memorium

RAYMOND C. FORCE

Raymond C. Force, a patron member of the California Historical Society, as well as a frequent source of assistance to it in all of its activities, died at Oakland November 15, 1951, aged seventy-one years.

Mr. Force was born in Crotin, Michigan. At the age of eighteen he went to Alaska, and worked and resided there for several years. During his residence in Alaska, he met and married his wife, whose maiden name was Florence Heilig and who survives him.

Coming from Alaska to California, Mr. Force became associated with the California Corrugated Culvert Co. of Berkeley, in which others of his family were also interested.

In 1919 he went to the C. L. Best Tractor Co. of San Leandro as vice-president and general manager, continuing as such until this company merged with the Holt Manufacturing Co. in 1925 to form the Caterpillar Tractor Co. Of this latter company, Mr. Force became a director and president. The company expanded and prospered greatly during his presidency, and when he retired from the office in 1930 he remained on the board of directors as chairman of the executive committee until 1941. Thereafter he continued as a member of the board and of the executive committee. At the time of his death, Mr. Force was a director of the Bank of California. For a period, also, he was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

For many years Mr. Force resided in Piedmont, but sometime before his death he moved to the family home on Black Hawk Ranch at the foot of Mt. Diablo. Here, in addition to cattle, Mr. Force had a fine walnut orchard. He was very much interested in wild life and built a small lake on his ranch where he could observe the large numbers of ducks and geese which visited it. Among winter visitors were Canada geese or honkers, continuous sources of interest to him.

Mr. Force was always ready to help in connection with anything constructive; the writer never appealed to him in vain when requesting assistance for the California Historical Society.

In addition to his wife, Mr. Force is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Lawrence S. Fletcher of Piedmont; by two sons, George of Piedmont, and Raymond C., Jr., of Diablo; and by seven grandchildren and a brother, Harold W. Force of Oakland.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's rooms is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate perpetuating the memory of the individual thus designated. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Flodden W. Heron
Douglas Stuart Loud
Thomas L. Phillips
Willard Brown Thorp
Willis A. Zane

New Members

(December 1951-February 1952)

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	Sustaining	
Donald C. Biggs	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Henry G. Fenton	San Diego	Transfer of Mr. Fenton's membership
William F. Knowland	Washington, D. C.	Mrs. William Cavalier
Charles P. Partridge	Richmond	Membership Committee
	Active	
Harry Ackerman	Beverly Hills	Membership Committee
Philip H. Arnot, M.D.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Thomas P. Bacon	Oakland	William M. Maxfield
Bancroft Library	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Lawrence Barrett, Jr.	San Mateo	Membership Committee
Alexander G. Bartlett, M.D.	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Andrew Brown	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Rex Butler	Oakland	Hugh S. C. Baker
A. T. Cassell	Pasadena	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
James B. Christie	Altadena	Charles P. Yale
Mrs. Baylies C. Clark	Sutter Creek	Hon. Robert McWilliams
Arthur M. Colomb	San Francisco	Vallejo Gantner
C. B. S. Evans, M.D., Lt. Col.	March A.F. Base	Membership Committee
Frank Gerbode, M.D.	San Francisco	Mrs. Wallace Alexander
Julian Francis Goux	Santa Barbara	Elbert S. Conner
Mrs. Lowell Hardy	Piedmont	Transfer of Mr. Hardy's membership
Mrs. Thomas Harris	Salinas	Mrs. Donald Davies
Hayward Public Library	Hayward	Membership Committee
John C. Hixon	Sacramento	C. M. Goethe
Harry A. Irving	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Lawton Kennedy	Oakland	Miss Dorothy Huggins
W. H. Lawrence	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Harry A. Levinson	Beverly Hills	Justin G. Turner
John McCarty	Pasadena	Daniel G. Grant, Jr.
Mrs. Duncan McDuffie	San Francisco	Transfer of Mr. McDuffie's membership
Mrs. George A. Miller	Lompoc	Membership Committee
Mrs. William Pattiani	Oakland	Resuming membership
James Anthony Pland, Jr.	Oakland	Membership Committee
J. F. Sullivan, Jr.	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
University of Minnesota Library	Minneapolis	Membership Committee
R. V. Wilgus	Burlingame	Membership Committee
Mrs. Charles Frederic Wilson	Woodside	Mrs. James Jenkins

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

John E. Baur, a native of Chicago, received his Ph.D. degree at the University of California, Los Angeles, in August 1951, the present article, concerned particularly with Los Angeles County, being part of his dissertation on the health rush to the general area of southern California in 1870-1900. His special interest at present is in the biographies of Pío Pico and John P. Jones (U.S. senator from Nevada and founder of Santa Monica). Since September 1949, Mr. Baur has been editorial associate on the *Pacific Historical Review.*

Rockwell D. Hunt (b. 1868, Sacramento; Ph. D., Johns Hopkins, 1895) is known to many through reports of his professorial and administrative successes and through his writings on historical subjects. Recently to appear has been his *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Publ. No. 2, Calif. History Foundation, College of the Pacific, Stockton, 1950). For over thirty-five years, Mr. Hunt was on the faculty of the University of Southern California. He now occupies, at the College of the Pacific, a newly endowed chair, designated as the "Rockwell Dennis Hunt Chair in California History."

Andrew F. Rolle (b. Providence, R. I.; M.A., 1949, Univ. Calif. Los Angeles) is with the intelligence branch, U.S.A., and is stationed at present at Fort Eustis, Va. From 1945 to 1948, after several years of active duty as an intelligence officer, he was vice-consul at Genoa. A small volume of his short stories (*Riviera Path*) was published during his stay in Italy. Mr. Rolle hopes to return to his position as teaching assistant in history at U. C. L. A. and the completion of his Ph.D. thesis (W. H. Davis' California experiences), when his separation from the army is effected, supposedly in May of this year.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Andrew Brown's great-grandfather, J. W. Sumner, and his grandfather, Andrew Brown, were both Forty-niners, the latter becoming interested not only in the mines but in farming, lumbering and merchandising. In 1852 they moved from Visalia to Whiskey Flat, now Kernville. The Society's new member (a graduate of the University of California) is a native of Kernville, as was also his father, the late P. Sumner Brown.

The grandfather of Mrs. Baylies C. (Gertrude Voorhies) Clark was Edward Buckman McIntire, Dartmouth graduate and schoolmaster, who, in 1849, came to California from Lancaster, N. H. Returning to the east in 1851, he brought his wife back with him the next year, and, by 1856, they had been joined by Mrs. Clark's mother and uncle, coming with friends of the family via the Isthmus. Mr. McIntire became the first elected school superintendent of Amador County. But before he took up again the life of an educator he located the Union Mine, which, to quote Mrs. Clark, "was sold to Downs and Stanford, and out of which was taken enough gold to finish building the transcontinental railroad."

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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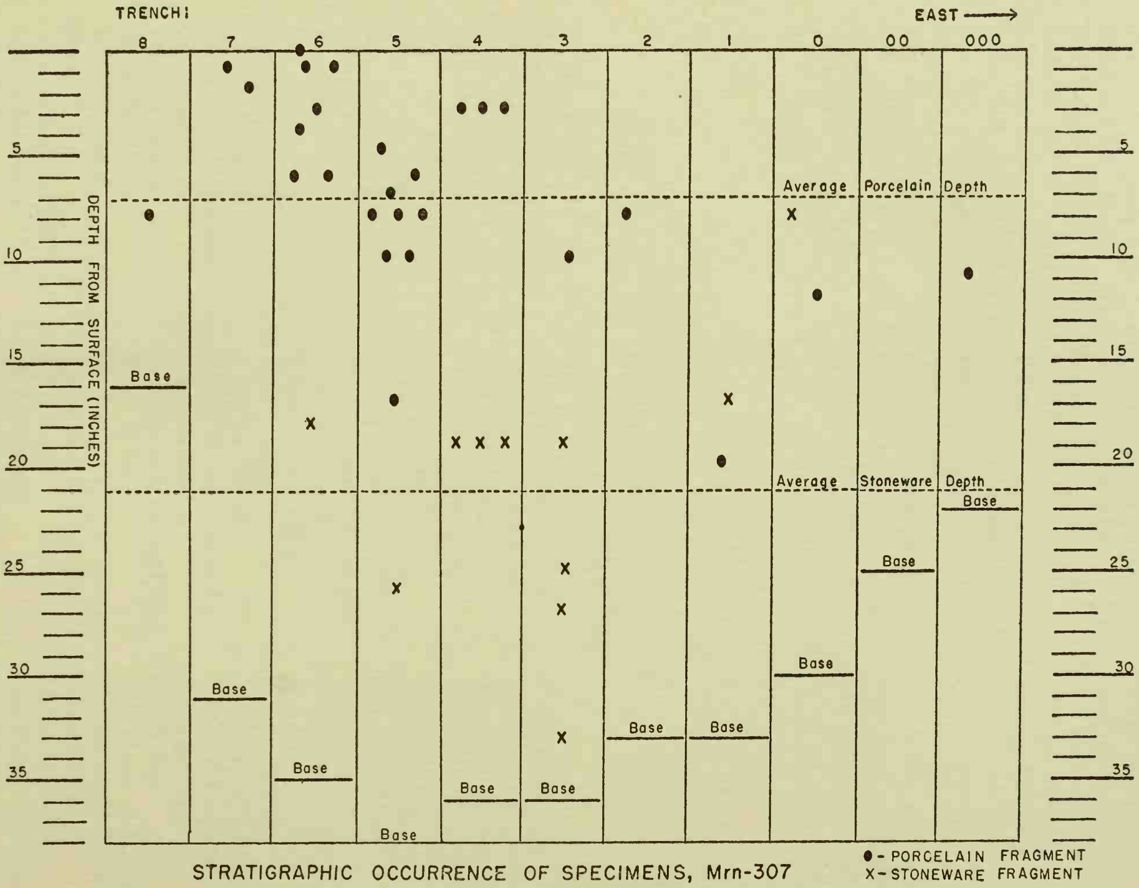

Figure 1: Chart showing stratigraphic occurrence of stoneware and porcelain fragments, Mrn-307. ("Mrn-307" = the 307th archaeological site recorded from Marin Co.)

Archaeological Exploration of Sixteenth-Century Indian Mounds at Drake's Bay *

By Clement W. Meighan *and* Robert F. Heizer

With an Appendix on Stoneware Specimens by Kamer Aga-Oglu

THE object of this report is two-fold — to summarize the archaeological investigations made at Drake's Bay during the past twelve years, and to report the discovery of a new type of sixteenth-century historic material. The search for archaeological evidence of Drake's visit of 1579 to the California coast has been the subject of frequent inquiry, but there is no generally available report summarizing these researches, and it is the hope of the writers that the present paper will remedy the deficiency.

In the second part of the report is announced the discovery of new historic artifacts at Drake's Bay — artifacts that are apparently older than those hitherto found. This material, consisting of several fragments of a large stoneware vessel made in the Orient, has actually been in hand since 1949, but an exhaustive search for comparative material has occupied the last two and a half years, and not until now has it been desirable to make a public announcement of the finds.

PREVIOUS WORK

About thirty miles north of the Golden Gate lies a small bay which memorializes the name of Sir Francis Drake. The shores of this bay, and the coast for some distance to the north and south as far as the Golden Gate, were occupied by an Indian tribe known as the Coast Miwok. Clear evidence that Drake sojourned, in June 1579, among members of this tribe derives from some native words in "The World Encompassed" version of the Drake voyage and in a manuscript referring to Drake's west-coast landing. These terms are identifiable as in the Coast Miwok language.[1] Provided that since 1579 the territorial boundaries of the Coast Miwok tribe have not changed, Drake must have landed in one of the bays which they occupied. As may be seen from a map, there are no fewer than five possible bays (Bodega, Tomales, Drake's, Bolinas, and San Francisco) in Coast Miwok territory. Since the documentary records of the Drake voyage contain no accurate map or geographical description of the California bay in which Drake landed, about the only recourse to settling the problem of the location of his landfall is to recover archaeological evidence. The brass plate found by B. Shinn in 1936 on the shore of San Francisco Bay may be the evidence so long looked for.[2] The plate is generally (though not universally) admitted as genuine, and it was found at a spot which might logically have been selected by Drake had he entered San Francisco Bay from the north and sailed along the Marin County shore. Until additional material-remains, attributable to the Drake visit, can be found, however, the location of the brass plate will remain a single fact upon which it is not possible to base the final conclusion as to Drake's landing place.

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*Both spellings, Drake's Bay and Drakes Bay, are current. [Ed.]

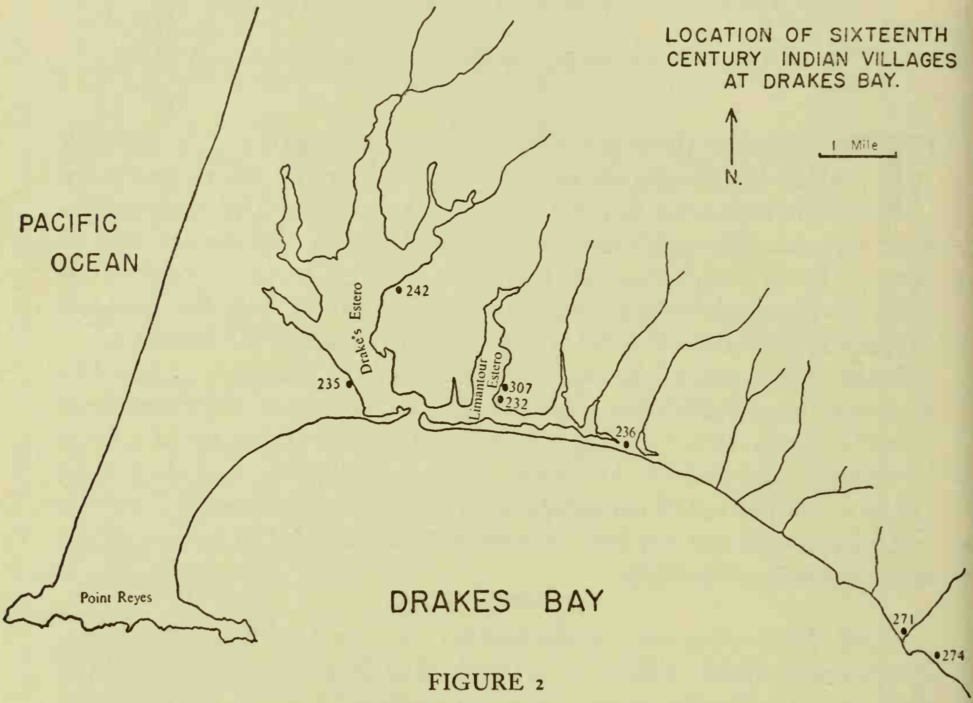

FIGURE 2

A second event of the late sixteenth century which occurred in the territory of the Coast Miwok was the wreck of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño's ship, the *San Agustín,* in Drake's Bay in 1595.[3]

It will thus be seen that, together with Cabrillo's contacts with the California natives of the Santa Barbara region in 1542, the Drake and Cermeño incidents are the only sixteenth-century historical events of significance to students of California Indians. For this reason, the Department of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley initiated a program of archaeological exploration of former Indian-village sites at Drake's Bay, in the hope of discovering sixteenth-century materials introduced by Caucasians which would thus date the type of Indian culture.

The first work was carried out under the direction of Robert F. Heizer in the summer of 1940, and from several shellmounds at Drake's Bay were recovered fragments of Chinese porcelain, which were identified by experts as of the Wan Li and Late Ming periods (1573-1619 A.D.). This porcelain, and a number of heavy hand-forged iron spikes, were interpreted as evidence of the cargo and ship's spikes of Cermeño's *San Agustín.* In the summer of 1941, more porcelain and spikes were recovered from the same and additional shellmounds. The 1940 and 1941 yield from six sites was seventy-four fragments of porcelain and forty-nine iron spikes.[4]

In 1949, excavation of the Estero site (Mrn-232), previously excavated by Heizer and Beardsley, was completed by Clement Meighan with a crew of students from the University of California. The costs of this work were defrayed by the California Historical Society. While carrying out the work at the Estero site, preliminary exploration was made of a previously known but never excavated site nearby (Mrn-307). The first testing of the site produced the now familiar blue-on-white Chinese porcelain of Ming date, and a new type of pottery in the form of brown-glazed stoneware.

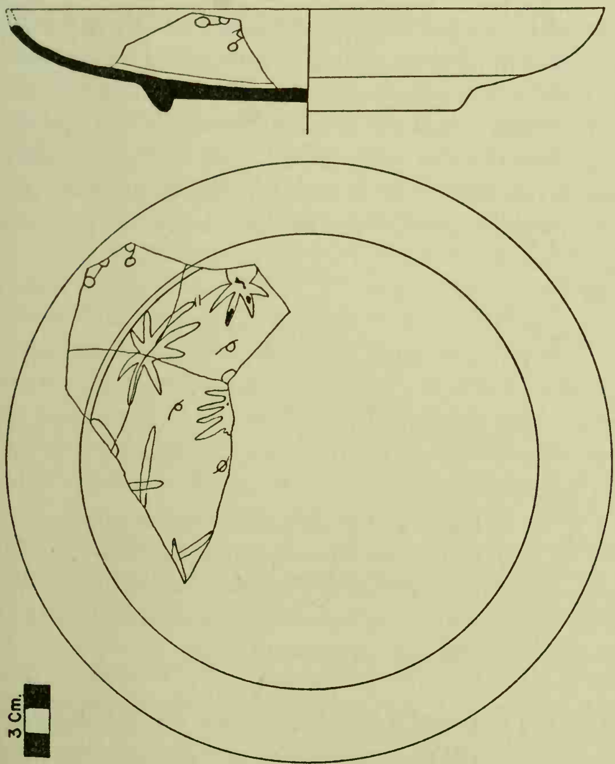

Figure 3: Reconstruction of Ming porcelain plate from Estero Mound, Mrn-232, based on reconstruction drawings by R. K. Beardsley, University of Michigan. (See note 4 to this paper.)

NEW HISTORIC MATERIAL

The new specimens came to light in the course of test excavations on the east shore of the Limantour Estero. The first sample produced three fragments of blue-on-white Chinese porcelain and three pieces of very thick brown-glazed stoneware. The porcelain was shortly afterwards identified by Theodore Y. Hobby of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (N.Y.) as being Ming; this confirmed site Mrn-307 as contemporaneous with the other Cermeño-period sites on Drake's Bay.[5] With this identification, plus the new historical material, it seemed worthwhile to continue the excavation of the site. The University of California Archaeological Survey sponsored additional work, and to date there have been seven trips to the site to carry out the excavation.[6]

As the samples of sixteenth-century historic artifacts from Mrn-307 increased, it became evident that the stoneware was occurring at a consistently deeper level than the porcelain. Since the Indian mounds are formed by the gradual accumulation of kitchen debris, the conclusion from this is that the stoneware must have reached the site some time before Cermeño's visit, making it the oldest historic material yet recovered archaeologically in California. The unglamorous pieces of stoneware thus became an exciting and rewarding discovery, and the two and a half years since the original find have been spent in an intensive effort to identify the ware's precise date and point of origin.

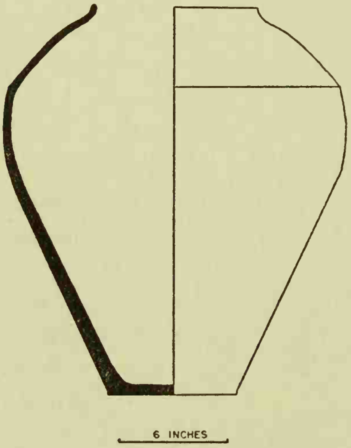

Figure 4: Tentative reconstruction of stoneware vessel from Mrn-307. Rim treatment is hypothetical, since no rim fragment has been found; but body form, based on projection of curvature of pieces, seems reasonably sure.

The chart (Figure 1) outlines the stratigraphic occurrences for all of the porcelain and stoneware fragments from Mrn-307. The total includes twenty-seven pieces of Ming porcelain and eleven fragments of stoneware, and the archaeological evidence indicates clearly that the stoneware reached the site some time prior to 1595. It may be mentioned that although the sample of thirty-eight specimens is numerically small, it was recovered from a careful excavation of over eighty per cent of the site. This involved the digging of more than 250 cubic yards of midden and the examination of more than a hundred pits, each five feet square. Only the shallow inland margins of the site remain unexcavated, and there is virtually no possibility that future work at the site will change the present stratigraphic picture.

As Mrs. Kamer Aga-Oglu indicates in her report (see Appendix), all of the stoneware fragments appear to be pieces of a single large vessel. The site of the discovery is on the banks of a small spring, and the vessel probably represents a water container which was brought to the spot by our unidentified visitor; it became broken and was discarded at this place.

The question of who brought this stoneware container to the shores of Drake's Bay is of great interest, and it is disappointing to have to admit that present evidence will not answer the question. Further, it appears that the identity of the unknown visitor *cannot* be determined from the specimens now in hand. Despite our ignorance of the identity of the ship that carried the stoneware, the discovery remains as an important evidence of very early visitors to California. Where there is one clue there are likely to be others, and, having found this early historic material, there is good reason to hope that future archaeological work in the Drake's Bay sites will produce more and perhaps surely-identifiable historic artifacts.

Many experts on ceramics have examined the Drake's Bay stoneware.[7] They include members of the staffs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, the Smithsonian Institution, the Chicago Natural History Museum, Columbia University, Stanford University, the Museum and Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology in Manila, the Museum het Princessehof in Leeuwarden, Holland, the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, and the British Museum. Because the stoneware is from a plain, unornamented utility vessel, few of the experts have been able to make positive statements about it. There is general agreement that it was made in the Far East. The most specific identification yet received is from Prof. H. Otley Beyer at the University of Manila; his comments (extracted from a letter to Prof. E. W. Gifford, dated June 28, 1951) are as follows:

> . . . As I wrote you on November 4, 1949 (second paragraph), I had some difficulty in exactly placing the piece of stoneware sent by Dr. R. F. Heizer – but, as I there suggested, it later proved to be definitely a piece from an Indo-China kiln. While most of our closest duplicates were destroyed during the war, I did find a passably similar specimen which I have sent to you along with Dr. Heizer's original fragment, by hand of Mrs. Carl Pelzer who left here some ten days ago for San Francisco. . . . This kind of ware was undoubtedly made in Indo-China in the 16th century, and the specimens of it that we find here come chiefly from Manila sites dating from the last half of the 16th century (say mostly about 1570-1600). . . .

None of the other specialists who have examined the stoneware is in positive disagreement with the above identification, and, in view of the already-known archaeology of site Mrn-307, Professor Beyer's remarks appear very reasonable.

In summing up the significance of the stoneware specimens, a careful distinction between fact and theory is essential to avoid premature conclusions. The only thing that seems reasonably certain is that some outland visitor was in Drake's Bay before 1595. Accepting Professor Beyer's dating, this person was at Drake's Bay not too long before Cermeño's visit. It must be repeated, however, that the pre-1595 visitor cannot be identified on the basis of the stoneware alone. The ultimate origin of the vessel in Indo-China is not indicative, for the wide trade in such ceramics[8] could have placed this container on any ship traveling in the Pacific.

In considering possible sources of the stoneware, an immediate thought is the expedition of Sir Francis Drake, since his vessel is the only one, known historically, to have been on the California coast in the proper time-period. However, other possibilities must be given equal weight, including Spanish ships of which there is no record, or possibly even a Chinese or Japanese vessel. Ships of the latter origin have been known to drift to the California coast,[9] so the lack of documentary records does not rule out this possibility. Further evidence of a positive nature is necessary, to identify these early visitors to the California coast. Presumably, such evidence will be of an archaeological nature, and future excavations may yet yield coins, metal buttons, or similar objects which are more precisely attributable to definite voyagers.

Conclusions: Archaeological investigations at Drake's Bay during the last twelve years have yielded a quantity of sixteenth-century artifacts of foreign origin, the latest discovery being fragments of an Oriental stoneware vessel dating from before 1595. The total amount of historic material obtained from all the Drake's Bay sites includes the following specimens:

1. 125 fragments of Chinese porcelain of Ming age.
2. 59 handwrought iron spikes, presumably from the wreck of the *San Agustín* in 1595.
3. 6 large iron rods an inch in diameter, found in the Ming porcelain level of site Mrn-307. The status of these specimens (illustrated in Pl. I) is still in doubt, but it seems likely that they may also be remnants of the *San Agustín* wreck.
4. 11 fragments of Oriental stoneware,[10] representing a large vessel which was apparently broken at site Mrn-307. On archaeological evidence, these pieces are dated before 1595, as they clearly reached the site before the Cermeño visit.

Possibilities for future archaeological investigations in the Drake's Bay region are almost limitless. Of the seven known sixteenth-century sites on Drake's Bay, two have been almost completely excavated, one is partially explored, and the remaining four are virtually untouched. Further, the University of California Archaeological Survey has records of ninety-four archaeological sites on the Point Reyes Peninsula; only a very few of these have been investigated at all intensively, and the great majority are completely unexcavated. It may be expected that further important historic material still lies buried in the Drake's Bay Indian-village sites, and additional excavation holds great promise for clarifying this aspect of the early history of California.

NOTES

1. *See* R. F. Heizer and W. W. Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in the Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, XI (1942), 213-17.

2. H. E. Bolton, "Francis Drake's Plate of Brass," Calif. Hist. Soc., *Sp. Publ. No. 13*, 1937; *see also* their *Sp. Publ. No. 14*, C. G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, "Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated," with introduction by Allen L. Chickering.

3. R. F. Heizer, "Archaeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño's California Visit in 1595," this QUARTERLY, XX (Dec. 1941); also published separately as a pamphlet by the Society, with introduction by A. L. Kroeber and a metallurgical report on the iron spikes by C. G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin.

4. R. K. Beardsley, "Temporal and Areal Relationships in California Archaeology," Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. Calif. (Berkeley), 1947.

5. C. W. Meighan, "Excavations in Sixteenth Century Shellmounds at Drake's Bay, Marin County," Univ. Calif. Archaeological Survey, *Report No. 9* (1950), pp. 27-32.

6. Following the initial testing of site Mrn-307, done under the auspices of the California Historical Society, a total of 119 man-days have been spent in excavation of the site. In addition to the historical objects recovered, several hundred artifacts of Indian manufacture have been found. A special acknowledgment is here made to R. J. Squier and J. A. Freed, students in the University of California Department of Anthropology, who participated in all of the field trips to Drake's Bay. Mr. Squier was in charge of three of the field trips.

7. Grateful acknowledgment is made of the assistance rendered by all of the institutions mentioned. Generally, the stoneware specimens were examined by all the members of the staff who were familiar with Oriental ceramics. The total number of individuals involved is over twenty; the following were especially helpful in devoting their time to the problem of the stoneware's origin:

Mrs. Kamer Aga-Oglu	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Professor H. Otley Beyer	Museum and Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Manila
Theodore Y. Hobby	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Nanne Ottema	Museum het Princessehof, Leeuwarden, Holland
Millard Rogers	Stanford University

Other assistance in the Drake's Bay work was given by A. R. Pilling and W. G. Solheim. Sayles V. Turney of San Rafael permitted the excavations to be carried out on his property.

8. The wide trade in Oriental ceramics is well documented. *See* particularly: Fay Cooper-Cole and Berthold Laufer, "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines," Field Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Series,* XII, no. 1 (Chicago, 1912); Kamer Aga-Oglu, "Ming Export Blue and White Jars in the University of Michigan Collection," *The Art Quarterly* (Summer 1948), pp. 201-17; and Kamer Aga-Oglu, "Blue-and-white Porcelain Plates Made for Moslem Patrons," *Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin,* III (Sept. 1951), 12-16.

9. Charles E. Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1939), pp. 21-27; John F. G. Stokes, "Japanese Cultural Influences in Hawaii," Fifth Pacific Science Congress, *Proc.*, pp. 2791-803 (Univ. Toronto Press, 1934).

10. The following technical note on the stoneware is from Prof. Howel Williams, Dept. Geol. Sci., Univ. Calif. (Berkeley), in a letter to E. W. Gifford, Aug. 2, 1950:

"Looking at your pottery sample through the microscope, I find that it consists largely of comminuted fragments of quartz, from almost impalpable chips to pieces 1 mm. or so across. I was unable to recognise any feldspars or ferromagnesian minerals.

"The broken quartz grains lie in a matrix of 'clay' in which are minute blebs of what appears to be opal and irregular patches of 'limonite'. If the blebs are actually composed of opal, I presume that they were produced from the quartz during the firing of the pottery.... Essentially the sherd is a quartz-clay mixture."

APPENDIX: FRAGMENTS OF A STONEWARE JAR FOUND AT DRAKE'S BAY, CALIFORNIA

By Kamer Aga-Oglu

Eight fragments of stoneware, which were recently unearthed near the Estero site in Drake's Bay, California, were sent to the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan by Clement W. Meighan for identification. They consist of seven wall and one base sherds* of what once must [Ed.]
have been a storage jar. From the specimens available, it is hard to determine the exact shape and size of the vessel. However, judging from the thickness of the fragments, it is apparent that the jar must have been fairly large and tall.

Such storage jars have been found, together with other wares, in various parts of the Far East, where they were exported mainly from China. The Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan has a large group of Chinese jars of varying sizes, shapes, glazes, and decorations which, together with a considerable number of Chinese celadon and blue-and-white porcelain and various Siamese wares, were excavated in the Philippines.[1]

The Drake's Bay stoneware fragments, compared to some of the Michigan jars, show certain similarities which enable us to form an opinion regarding their origin and age. Their coarse stoneware bodies, full of impurities and air holes, range in color in the same sherd from gray to buff, with the gray part being near the outer surface of the wall, as is seen most clearly in the fragment marked 1-120545.† The thickness of the wall ranges from 1 cm., in the sherds from the upper part, to 2 cm. in those from the lower part of the jar. The heavy base sherd is flat and has a dark gray paste, which shows traces of a thin wash of glaze.

The glaze, which covers both sides of the fragments, is thin and even and has a bumpy surface, due to impurities. It is of a rather dull, dark brown

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*Also *shards* (pieces or fragments); from Anglo-Saxon root meaning to shear, to cut.

†"1-120545," and the other catalogue numbers mentioned here, refer to specimens in the University of California Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley.

color which is partly mottled on the inside. On the outside, however, it is uniformly brown in the three upper-wall sherds (1-120545, 1-120546, and 1-120526), but has burnt black in the lower-wall and the base fragments (1-78276 and 1-78277 mended; 1-120544 and 1-127626 fit together; and 1-127625 base). The two lower-wall sherds that fit together are interesting, since they show where the brown glaze began to turn black. And the two other lower-wall sherds, which are mended, and the basal fragment prove that the glaze burnt an all-over black in the lower part of the jar.

From the close relationship which exists in the texture and appearance of the bodies and glazes of these sherds, in the thickness and the degree of curvature of their walls, and in the manner of their manufacture, it is apparent that they are fragments of the same jar. This assumption is further suggested by the fact that, of the eight sherds, two pairs fit together (1-78276, 1-78277, and 1-127626 and 1-120544). Although the fitting of only a few pieces is not sufficient to prove that all of the fragments belong to the same vessel, this fact and the close affinity of all the specimens present enough evidence to support the assumption. However, should these fragments belong to two or more jars, the jars would have had to be identical.

It should be noted that in the case of an ordinary monochrome ware like this, which has no decoration, it is extremely hard to guess whether or not the pieces, which do not fit together, belong to the same vessel. The bodies and glazes of such wares, made of coarse materials, vary not only in different pieces but also in the same vessel, as is seen in the Michigan jars. This is due to careless preparation of the clay and glaze, the presence of impurities in them, and to uneven potting and firing. Thus the body and glaze, even in the same vessel, is seldom uniform in color and often varies in texture. Therefore, all features have to be considered before deciding whether or not fragments, which do not fit together, are parts of the same vessel.

Such stoneware jars, made to hold water or wine, were among the most useful utensils and their manufacture continued from the Sung period, if not before, down to the twentieth century. They were made not only for home consumption but also for trade with the neighboring countries, especially the Dutch East Indies and Philippines, where they have been found in great numbers. Great variety exists in their shape and size, ranging from short and squat to tall and slender forms, and measuring in height from about one foot to almost three feet. Some have wide, and some narrow, bottle-like mouths, and their shoulders are either high or sloping, with many having loop handles near the neck. Their bases are in general unglazed, although some have a thin wash of glaze, and are either flat or concave. Their hard, feldspathic glazes vary in color from a grayish green or olive green to various shades of blue, and from a mustard-brown to a dark brown and black, and are often mottled.

These jars fall roughly into two groups: one is plain; the other has an underglaze incised or relief decoration, consisting of floral or dragon motifs. The decorated group has generally a mustard-brown glaze, although some have a dark, mottled-blue glaze. Both groups are well represented in the Philippine collection of the University of Michigan, and a group, also from the Philippines, is in the Chicago Natural History Museum.[2]

In dating these jars, which have been found outside of China, Dr. Laufer has roughly assigned them to the late Sung and Ming periods,[3] and the majority date most probably from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. As to their provenance, it was again Dr. Laufer who, as early as 1912, suggested the kilns of Fukien and Kuangtung,[4] but there were also kilns where such highly-utilitarian vessels were made among other household wares.

The Drake's Bay stoneware sherds belong undoubtedly to the undecorated group of these Chinese jars, which were so popular in the Philippines and were also used by the Spanish conquerors of that country. The similarity of Drake's Bay sherds to the Ming jars, in the Michigan Philippine collection, suggest the same age for them. An attempt to give a more exact date within the long Ming period would be hazardous, since we have only a few fragments which, besides a base sherd, do not represent other characteristic features of the jar.

However, we feel more confident about one fact, namely, that these fragments could not be of a later period than the late sixteenth century, which is the date of the Drake's Bay sites where they were unearthed. This fact is further supported by the fragments of the sixteenth-century blue-and-white porcelain vessels, which were also found in Drake's Bay. Thus, until future finds throw more light, the Drake's Bay stoneware fragments may be tentatively assigned to the sixteenth century, as has been suggested by Mr. Meighan.[5]

It may be of interest to note that the Drake's Bay blue-and-white fragments are very similar, with some pieces being identical, to the sixteenth-century blue-and-white at Michigan, which were excavated in the Philippines.

NOTES

1. Carl E. Guthe, "The University of Michigan Philippine Expedition," *American Anthropologist*, XXIX (Jan.–March 1927), 69-76; and his "Distribution of Sites Visited by the Univeristy of Michigan Philippine Expedition, 1922-1925," Michigan Acad. Sci., Arts and Letters, *Papers*, X (1928), 79-89; Kamer Aga-Oglu, "Ying-Ch'ing Porcelain Found in the Philippines," Detroit Inst. of Arts, *Art Quarterly*, IX (1946), 315-26; also her "Ming Export Blue-and-White Jars in the University of Michigan Collection," *ibid.*, XI (1948), 201-17; and her "Early Blue-and-White Wine Pot Excavated in the Philippines," *The Far Eastern Ceramic Bull.*, No. 10 (June 1950), pp. 64-71.

2. Fay Cooper-Cole and Berthold Laufer, "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines," Field Mus. Nat. Hist. [Chicago], *Anthropolog. Ser.*, XII, No. 1 (1912).

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5. Clement W. Meighan, "Excavations in Sixteenth Century Shellmounds at Drake's Bay, Marin County," Univ. Calif. [Berkeley] Archaeolog. Survey, *Reports*, No. 9 (Nov. 20, 1950), p. 29.

Putting a Lid on California

An Unpublished Diary of the Portolá Expedition

by José de Cañizares

Translated and edited by
Virginia E. Thickens
and
Margaret Mollins

THE OCCUPATION of Alta California in the year 1769 was the result of old pressures for northward expansion, the emergence of new ones, and the arrival in Mexico City of a man, José de Gálvez, who knew how both to release and to direct the impetus north.

The northern frontiers of New Spain in the middle of the eighteenth century stretched westward from the Mississippi River across Texas and New Mexico, to drop abruptly southward to the Mission of Santa María, only two-thirds of the way up the peninsula of Baja California. Mariners of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had examined the coasts as far north as Rogue River and had reported fine harbors, but for more than 160 years the shores of California from Cedros Island north had been undisturbed by the Spaniards. Yet the importance of the Californias had long been recognized, as furnishing a desirable port of call for the Manila galleon on its return voyage from the Orient, and as a potential threat to Spain should the region fall into the hands of a foreign nation. Conquest had been planned, grandiose orders issued, but both money and initiative were lacking.[1] The foreign threat was not immediate enough, the zeal for saving souls not strong enough to launch an enterprise of such proportions — one that showed so little prospect of a quick cash return.

But interest was about to awaken. Carlos III, who came to the throne of Spain in 1759, was faced with an empty treasury and fear of foreign encroachments throughout his dominions. Mismanagement and alien smugglers had drained the profits from the colonies. Russian exploration had reached Alaska, and, with the ending of French rule in North America in 1763, the threat of England to Spanish security in the New World came that much closer. It was at this point that José de Gálvez was made royal troubleshooter, to increase the revenues from New Spain and to tighten defenses. Gálvez was extremely ambitious and inclined to identify his own advancement with the promotion of the royal interests. Red tape meant little to him. On July 18, 1765,[2] endowed with discretionary powers seldom granted to Spanish officials, he arrived in Vera Cruz. Almost immediately by his direct methods he alienated Viceroy Cruíllas, with the result that the latter was soon replaced by Charles François de Croix, who came in the knowledge that his chief task would be to assist and work in harmony with Gálvez.[3]

One of the latter's first problems was the pacification of the Indians on the northern frontier. In March 1768, Col. Domingo Elizondo, at the head of a detachment of troops, was sent north to Guaymas to undertake this task.[4] To serve as troop ships, the *San Carlos* and *El Principe* (later rechristened *San Antonio*) were constructed at San Blas. Gálvez had given orders for the creation of this new town, to serve as a base of supplies for the frontier outposts and as a shipbuilding and navigation center.[5] In April he left Mexico City to go down to San Blas, himself, to check on the progress of the work. Two days out from Guadalajara, he received from Croix instructions from the Marqués de Grimaldi, Spain's first minister of state, for the immediate safeguarding of the Californias from the southward advance of the Russians. Gálvez had frequently discussed with Croix plans for the settlement of Monterey Bay,[6] and now, with a definite go-ahead signal, he immediately set about putting them into execution.

On May 16, 1768, three days after his arrival in San Blas, the following members of a junta, or council, were called to order by Gálvez at his lodgings in the Casa Real: Miguel Costansó, civil engineer; Manuel Rivero Cordero, officer in charge of the construction of San Blas; Antonio Faveau y Quesada, professor of mathematics and skilled pilot of the Philippine trade; and Vicente Vila, pilot of his majesty's navy of the northern sea. Gálvez read to them Grimaldi's communication describing the Russian activities in the north.[7] The junta agreed upon the necessity of "putting a lid on all the west coast of California."[8]

It was determined that expeditions should go by land and sea, the one by sea to be sent off as soon as supplies could be assembled, for this was the best season for sailing. Northbound ships faced a head wind all the way, and it was necessary for them to stand off from the shore a considerable distance, then travel north of and drop back to the desired destination. The dangers of a long voyage were well known, and the junta did not wish to expose the enterprise to "the harmful delays and illnesses that were suffered in the expeditions of Sebastian Vizcaino and others made in the two previous centuries."[9] For ships, they decided to use the two newly-built packet boats that had taken the soldiers to Sonora, and another vessel which was being built in the shipyards at San Blas.[10] Aside from the choice of Miguel Costansó, who was to go along to map Monterey Harbor and the coast, and Vicente Vila and Antonio Faveau[11] as commanders of the ships, no specific selection of personnel was made at this time. However, a lieutenant and a company of soldiers would be sent on one of the ships to assist in taking possession of the port of Monterey. The other expedition, charged with opening a route by land, was to be dispatched from the northern missions of Baja California. No mention was made of any rendezvous at San Diego, the attention of the junta being focussed entirely upon Vizcaino's "*famoso puerto.*"

The winds of the gulf prevented Gálvez from crossing it until early in July, but, once on the peninsula of Lower California, he set in motion a chain of events new to the Pacific Coast. He established his headquarters in the home of Manuel Osio, a well-to-do miner at La Paz, and began to acquaint himself with the affairs of the peninsula, whose welfare he considered one with the northern area in safeguarding the Spanish empire. He was appalled at the conditions he found: the missions were run down, the natives hungry and naked, while the friars and civil administrators wrangled over their respective duties. Gálvez was not the man to put up with such a state of affairs, and in Father Serra, the newly appointed president of the California missions, he found a dynamo like himself. He wooed Serra and his Franciscans, and called for all-inclusive reports from each mission. Once apprised of the mismanagement by the military, Gálvez started on a program of consolidation and reform. He immediately turned over the control of the mission property to the Franciscans, and confided to Serra that he "was glad he had had sense enough to realize that the fathers should administer the temporalities, because the commissioners were born to obey and not to govern anything other than their riding beasts."[12]

While waiting for the packet boats to arrive from the mainland and for the gradual collection of supplies for the northern expeditions, Gálvez threw all his energies into these reforms. He carried on a vast correspondence and traveled back and forth across the southern part of the peninsula, conferring with the fathers at the missions, with Serra, and with Gov. Gaspar de Portolá, who had been chosen to head the new venture. Gálvez' experience in working with Indians was limited, and he wanted immediate results. Late in November he was still harping on the necessity of getting the Indians clothed and into houses; he was seeing to it that the French Academicians, who were shortly to arrive in Baja California to observe the transit of Venus, would have no excuse for publishing in their reports that His Most Catholic Majesty Carlos III "in California was sovereign of a wilderness whose Indian vassals wander about and live like wild beasts."[13]

In crossing from the mainland, the *San Carlos* took on a great deal of water. She had to be careened and reloaded, and not until January 9, 1769, was she ready to sail from La Paz. Gálvez went down to Cape San Lucas for the farewell ceremonies. From a high hill, he watched her sails bellying before a fair south wind, until, on February twentieth, she dropped beyond the horizon. The *San Antonio*, even later in arriving at Cape San Lucas than the *San Carlos* though not in as bad condition, got the same treatment and a royal send-off. The fathers wept and exhorted, while Gálvez laughed at his own performance and thought it might rate him the nickname of "the devil preacher."[14] So thankful was he to have the two ships on their way, that he chose to ignore the gloomy prophecies of old mariners around the Cape, and the fact that the ships had sailed months after the favorable time recommended by the junta.

Gálvez could now concentrate on the land expedition. In August of the previous year, he had paved the way for the advance guard by appointing Capt. Fernando Rivera y Moncada as second in command to Governor Portolá, and by sending Rivera out from Loreto with twenty soldiers of the presidio to collect supplies for the missions of New California. The old missions of the peninsula, impoverished though they were, were called upon to provide food, animals, and church ornaments for the proposed missions of the north. The church ornaments were to be repaid, and Gálvez thought the gaudier they were the better so that the new religion would appeal to the emotions of the Indians.[15] The food which the missions contributed for the expedition was considered a gift, while the animals were a loan. These supplies were given willingly, for the Franciscan friars were but newly arrived in Baja California and had formed no great attachment for the establishments they had inherited from the Jesuits, just a year and a half before. The land was barren, the natives were extremely primitive, and the friars were looking to Alta California for greener pastures.

The land expedition, like those by sea, did not get off according to Gálvez' schedule. In August he had given Rivera a long list of detailed instructions, and had hoped to send him on his way by the end of November or December.[16] With soldiers and Indians as scouts, Rivera was to travel a day or two ahead of Portolá and seek out suitable camps and mission sites. Advance outposts would be established "to make a ladder to Monterey," and these were to develop into missions or inns on the California road. The second or third of these stations was to be at San Diego, where the land and sea expeditions were to join forces before continuing to Monterey. Gálvez was prepared for accidents, however. If Rivera found that he was unable to establish an outpost at San Diego, before the end of the twenty-day waiting period which the ships had been ordered to observe, he was to post a look-out on the cliffs and build fires to announce his presence to the mariners. Gálvez gave strict orders that they must go as peaceful travelers and refrain from molesting or antagonizing the Indians. To that end, he saw that they had on hand a plentiful supply of beads, the number-one requisite for peaceful penetration of the Indian country.

Fernando Rivera y Moncada was an old-timer in Baja California. In 1751 he had been appointed to the command of the presidio of Loreto; and, from the standpoint of experience with the terrain and the climate, he was a natural choice for the job of leading an exploring party. But he was hot-headed, jealous of the privileges of his position, and not given to compromise. In spite of these traits, he was an able leader and soldier, and was to become one of the great personalities in the founding of Alta California. He brought settlers and supplies to the newly established missions, became governor of the province, and, at the time of his death in the Yuma massacre of 1781, was leading a group of colonists over the Anza trail.

In August 1768, Rivera started to carry out the duties of his new assignment, making his way north from mission to mission and gathering supplies as he went. His destination was Santa María, the northernmost of the Baja California missions. From here the start for Monterey was to be made. Gálvez was sending supplies to the nearby Bay of San Luís Gonzaga for Rivera to transport to this rendezvous; but the ships were late in arriving, and Rivera had to wait. Gálvez sent urgent messages. Nevertheless, delay followed delay. Meanwhile Rivera's animals soon exhausted the scanty pasturage at Santa María, so in December he moved his base to Velicatá, some fifty miles northwest. This was the first outpost established beyond the old frontier, and, when the second division of the land expedition reached it, Father Serra founded there San Fernando de Velicatá, the only mission established by the Franciscans on the peninsula of Lower California.

Gálvez had underestimated the traveling time for both the sea and land parties. A month before Rivera even started from Velicatá, Gálvez was sure that, after all his reiterated orders, Rivera must have reached San Diego.[17] Yet Father Crespi himself, whom Gálvez had ordered to Velicatá on February twenty-second as spiritual adviser to the expedition, did not show up there until a month later to the day. Gálvez was in constant turmoil lest the sea and land expeditions should miss each other; that they would eat up their provisions while they waited for each other at San Diego, instead of saving them for the advance on Monterey. Even when Gálvez finally had word of Rivera's departure, he could not relax. More than a month was to pass before the second land party, with Governor Portolá and Father Serra, headed north, although it was supposed to have traveled on Rivera's heels. Serra, determined to establish the new missions in person, had a badly infected leg, and Gálvez bitterly regretted not having packed him off on one of the ships. Once Serra was out of his reach, Gálvez peppered Father Palou with the letters he had previously showered on Serra, and the two waited for some word from the north.[18]

The day that Rivera's overland advance to Alta California got under way, at last, from Velicatá, was March 24, Good Friday of the year 1769. Two days before, Father Juan Crespi had arrived. Like all the Franciscans he was new to the peninsula, but he had accompanied Serra from Mallorca to Mexico in 1749, and had worked beside him at the College of San Fernando in the capital and at the frontier missions of Sierra Gorda. When the Jesuits were expelled from Baja California in 1767, Crespi came there with the first Franciscan fathers who replaced them and took charge of the mission of Purísima Concepción. He was Serra's first choice when Gálvez asked for an experienced and able missionary to choose mission sites and to record everything "good, bad, and indifferent" in his diary.[19] Of all the friars, Crespi was the only one who made the trek from Velicatá to the Bay of San Francisco and back, and for this reason he was chosen to write an account of the expedition, including in it material from his own diary and from those made by members of the other expeditions. He devoted the rest of his days to the missions of Alta California, traveling up and down the province in their interest.[20]

Rivera's second in command was José de Cañizares, a promising young pilot's mate, who was charged with the duties of writing the captain's diary and taking astronomical observations. Crespi intimated that Cañizares was to act as scout also, but Rivera evidently considered him too young and inexperienced, for only once during the journey did he lead a scouting party. While there is no previous record of Cañizares, he must have been in his teens, because four years later Serra still considered him too young to act as chief pilot of a transport vessel — this in an age when boys were considered veterans at twenty.[21] It is curious that the first venture of his career started on land, although he was to become one of the great mariners of the Pacific coast. In 1774, as master of the *San Antonio*, he made the first trip from San Blas to Monterey without the usual call at San Diego. To Cañizares goes the distinction of being the first to enter the Golden Gate, for, as chief pilot on the Ayala voyage to San Francisco Bay in 1775, he took a launch inside the bay to seek out an anchorage. From the reconnaissance which he made at this time, he gathered the information on which he based his map, the first since Crespi sketched the bay in 1772. The next year, Cañizares worked with Anza in the founding of San Francisco and drew the master plans for the erection of the presidio. Later, he acted as pilot for Bodega y Quadra on the voyage that led them far up the Pacific coast in search of the northwest passage. Then, for several years, he was commander of one of the San Blas supply ships, that shuttled back and forth to the new California ports. In 1790, his name disappears from the records, and the rest of his life is as unknown to history as are the years before he started on the trail to California.

There is no exact record of the number of persons assembled at Velicatá for the take-off, but there were probably between sixty and seventy. Rivera had brought twenty-five "soldados de cuera"[22] from his presidio at Loreto for the military escort, but fifteen of these remained at Velicatá to watch over the animals and provisions left there. Three muleteers were assigned to care for the pack animals. Before the camp had been moved to Velicatá, forty-two newly Christianized Indians from the northern missions had been assembled. But on the road to Velicatá some of them deserted, others were left at that outpost, and the number who made the final start is not known. This variation in personnel continued throughout the trip. Some desertions were induced by sickness. The Indians were not particularly dependable, and the fact that they were half-starved would not in any case have fostered extremes of loyalty. Crespi did not think it unreasonable that some of them went back to their missions, nor that only thirteen finished the trip, for "they did not give them food where there was mescal, which was lacking most of the way. When this failed they had to get along with only a little atole. . . ."[23] They were taken on the trek to help in breaking the trail, in caring for the pack train, and to assist generally with the drudgery of the journey. There was also some idea that they might serve as interpreters with the northern tribes.

In addition to the supplies which Gálvez had sent up from La Paz and those which he himself had gathered, Rivera had driven up from Santa María more than four hundred animals,[24] to fatten on the better pasture at Velicatá. Rivera provisioned his company sparingly, for the staples consisted of only sixteen tierces of flour (which Crespi said was very old), ten packs of jerked beef, and some chocolate. There was only enough for two meals a day of "poor tortillas . . . and a bit of jerked beef that was so hard and so salty that only necessity could make one eat it."[25] Ten days before the end of the trek their meat gave out, and they were down to a daily ration of two thin tortillas and a little watery chocolate.[26] In his desire to travel light, Rivera almost left behind at Velicatá eight of the sixteen tierces of flour. Crespi spoke longingly of the food they might have taken; and the presence of pack animals perfectly able to carry it did not add to his appreciation of the captain. As to brandy and wine, Rivera took his own supply and no more. Only devotion to duty could have started Crespi on the trail. With more candor than he allowed himself in his official report, he said in a letter to Palou, "Words fail me in which to tell your Reverence of the dangers that this man put us in because of his whims. . . ."[27]

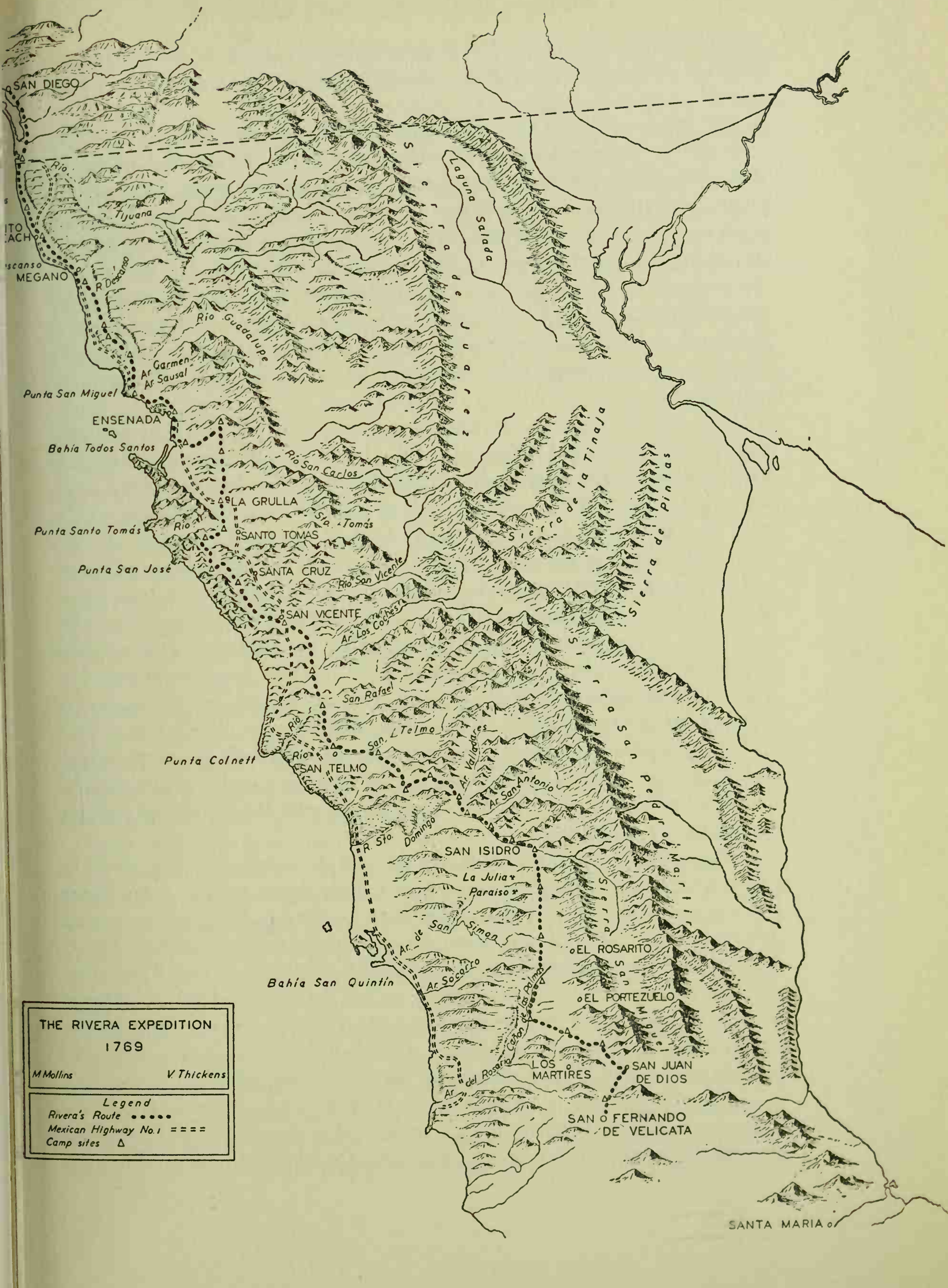
The first leg of the journey was to take the pathfinders to San Diego Bay, where they would establish their half-way station before continuing to Vizcaino's fine harbor. The first eight days they traveled over a path pioneered for them by the Jesuit, Father Wenceslao Linck, when he went north in search of the Colorado River in 1766.[28] Since some of Rivera's soldiers had been with Linck on that trip and knew the trail, there was no need to send out advance scouting parties to plot each day's march, as they did later on. The plan had been to cut over the mountains to the coast (which was roughly known from the accounts of Cabrillo, Vizcaino, and Cabrera Bueno). But Rivera preferred to stay in the mountains, either because he felt his party would be better protected from Indian attacks along the ridges, or, possibly, because he hoped for a more assured water supply. This was one of the whims to which Crespi objected. He thought the whole march could have been made much more quickly and safely by going down to the beach immediately.[29]

Father Lasuén, later to make of San Gabriel the most prosperous mission of Alta California and to succeed Serra as president of the missions there, had come up with Crespi to give the expedition his parting blessing. The departure that Good Friday must have been abrupt, for Cañizares indicates that supplies were chosen within the short space of half an hour. It was certainly too fast for Crespi, who had looked forward to several days of rest and letter writing before he started off again.[30] Something must have irritated Rivera to make him insist on leaving at four-thirty in the afternoon, to travel a league and a half to a camp site where he knew there was no water.[31]

Saturday was their first full day's march. They made an early start, evidently omitting the ritual of Mass, which, on the fifty-two day journey, was celebrated almost every morning. They traveled through cactus, thorny bushes, and the scrubby palms of Lower California until they reached Father Linck's old camp site at San Juan de Dios, where there were a few willows around meager pools of water. Cañizares, doing his best to fulfill his duties as a diarist, painstakingly noted the hares and wild goats they saw along the trail. At this second camp, the Spaniards were visited by inquisitive Indians whom they got rid of with presents of beads.

For the next few days, until they left Linck's trail at La Cieneguilla on April third,[32] Rivera's party marched generally northwest. In one of the branches of westward-flowing Arroyo Rosario they were delayed for a day and a half by rain and the necessity of caring for sick Indians. The neophytes had begun to complain of illness on the first day out of Velicatá. Two had died by Wednesday, and Rivera was becoming worried lest the whole troop should decamp. Gathering them together before the march began on the morning of the twenty-ninth, he tried to convince them that there could be no possible connection between their sickness and the aims of "this holy expedition." His words must have been effective, for they all went on except the sick ones who were ordered back to Velicatá. And even three of these, before the day was over, had changed their minds and caught up with the party.

All along the trail the Spaniards were on the lookout for mission sites. At least one mission was to be established between Velicatá and San Diego,[33] and the diarists recorded every spot of pasture and every water hole. The Arroyo de los Alamos was the first place Cañizares found at all suitable, but, in spite of the abundance of trees, birds, and deer, he lamented the scarcity of water. Here they found the first Indian ranchería, a group of eleven crude huts. Far from causing any trouble, the Indians avoided the Spaniards,



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and when the soldiers gave chase they caught only three children and an old woman; but later the neophytes visited them and came back with a gift of mescal.

The next week the going was rugged. Often they had to hack their way through the brush and backtrack around precipitous barrancas. During this first week in unexplored country, the company spent every other day in camp, while the scouts sought out watering places and cleared a road. The supply of water was relatively good, for they crossed three rivers flowing down from the mountains. (Cañizares was reluctant to call these streams rivers, but his experience with the California terrain was rapidly altering his standard of values.) One Indian died and another deserted, to make his lonely way back to Velicatá. A soldier fell ill and had to be carried on a litter. The scouts reported wolves in the mountains, so a close watch was kept on the animal herd.

On April 11, 1769, the country began to open out, and they traveled through arid plains and rolling hills. There were fewer trees and water was hard to find. On the twelfth they filled their bags and barrels from a small water hole they had dug, and this was all they had through the heat of the next two days. The one redeeming feature of this barren stretch was the abundant growth of mescales, a species of cactus. Though it tore at the animals' legs and slowed the march, it must have saved the lives of a good many of the Indians, who had had little to eat for several days. Their need for water was so desperate by the fourteenth that the exhausted animals were allowed to rest while the scouts continued the search. At last they found it, some miles ahead, and Rivera, afraid to wait any longer, led the company forward in the late afternoon. This was the first time they had traveled after dark. The soldiers were put on the alert, armed with their guns and leather jackets. At nine o'clock in the evening they came to it — the largest pool on the whole trek, and a special watch was placed over the animals to prevent their drinking too much.

In the morning the travelers loafed around the camp and took stock of their surroundings. The place was an oasis in the desert with so much water and pasturage that they decided to rest here for the day. Cañizares estimated this pool of San Telmo, as they named it, to be about thirty-three feet deep.[34] Attractive tidbits, such as turtles and whitefish, were in the pool. Rivera was particularly impressed with the western end of the valley, which he explored in the afternoon and which probably was near the spot chosen later by the Dominicans for their mission of San Telmo. From the top of a high hill, Captain Rivera had his first glimpse of the ocean, and, although he thought he saw a pass leading to it, he was not yet ready to go down to the coast.

On the next day, April 16, 1769, they started out again along the crest of the hills. More natives were in evidence here. One was bold enough to spend the night with the Spaniards, but he was of little use as a guide, because the Indians who acted as interpreters had deserted during the halt at San Telmo.[35] The abilities of the Indians in this vicinity amazed Cañizares. He speaks of their skill in pottery making and in weaving patterned cloth from the fibers of the mescal.

The Spaniards were traveling in the high hills close to the sea now, and water was again becoming scarce. On April twenty-third they found a spring of warm water and camped near it, while Rivera went exploring and got his first view of a large bay and an island. Cañizares assumed that this bay was Vizcaino's Ensenada de las Vírgenes. Of the next eight days they traveled only on three. Anxious to get down to the beach, they found themselves hemmed in by the hills and without water. Few Indians were in sight, but the animals stampeded several times, and one morning the men extracted an arrow from one of the mules. On the twenty-eighth, Cañizares got his chance to act as a scout. Unable to go farther north, the soldiers had failed to find a path down to the beach, so Rivera sent his assistant to try his luck. With the aid of an inaccurate map, he identified the Bay of Todos Santos to his satisfaction and found a way to the shore. Since Cañizares had at first thought that the bay to which they were descending was the Ensenada de las Vírgenes, it is possible that his map was a copy of the Anson map of 1748, which shows Las Vírgenes just south of San Diego, in the approximate location of Todos Santos Bay. In fact, the map almost reverses the actual positions of the two bays. Vizcaino had given the name of Todos Santos to the bay which still bears that name; the one which he called Las Vírgenes was a considerable distance south and is now known as San Quintín Bay. Cañizares' confusion as to the whereabouts of the travelers is therefore understandable. However, on examining the bay from the beach, he changed his mind, for the site bore out the description given for Todos Santos Bay in Cabrera Bueno's *Navegación Especulativa.*

Rivera spent the next two days verifying Cañizares' report in person. He went down to the beach and along it until he found a water hole seven leagues distant from their camp. On May 1, 1769, he led his company down to the Pacific, where they saw evidences of a large gathering of Indians. Any idea of reaching the water hole that night was given up. The Spaniards camped and doubled the watch; but the Indians made no effort to approach them.

From here on to San Diego the party kept close to the seashore. As they moved north they encountered more and more Indians, whose presence caused Rivera to increase the guard and throw up barricades for the camps. The soldiers wore their leather jackets constantly now, and Rivera had them brush up on their target practice. At the northern end of Todos Santos Bay they met the only natives who showed warlike tendencies by heckling the

Spaniards with a nerve-wracking clamor for several days and letting loose an occasional arrow. A few shots in the air, however, were enough to scare them off. Above this point, native huts dotted the valleys, and the Indians became more friendly and bolder. They crowded into the Spanish camp, haranguing the men, swarming over the supplies, and demanding payment for their fish and mussels. More than one soldier found part of his equipment missing.[36] On the day they spotted the Coronados Islands, they met Indians who gave them news of the sea expeditions. Among the natives was one who had in his nose an ornament he had received from the mariners. Rivera's party knew now that they were close to the end of their journey. The next day, the thirteenth, Cañizares caught sight of Point Loma, the rocky promontory that curves around San Diego Bay from the north.[37] Plenty of water and pasture were available, but no firewood, so that night Rivera sacrificed his tent poles to bake the tortillas.

Soon after the morning start was made, there came into view the masts of the two packet boats, the *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos*, lying at anchor in the port of San Diego. Rivera and his men hurried on around the bay, covering the last six leagues by late afternoon. As they came up the beach, they announced their arrival with shouts and gunshots, which were answered from the ships and from the huts on shore. But the success of their fifty-two day march was dimmed by the news that most of the ships' companies were down with scurvy, and that many had died during the voyage.[38] In their weakened condition, the sailors had been able to do little toward establishing either a mission or a permanent camp site. Those who were able to drag themselves around had been busy caring for the sick. The newcomers had to unload the ships, build shelters for the men and corrals for the animals; besides, on Rivera's orders, the whole camp was moved from the seashore to a more suitable spot on the San Diego River. These tasks kept them busy until the arrival of Portolá on June twenty-ninth, and the rest of the second division on July first.

The pathfinders for this first overland trip to California had done their job well, and Portolá was able to follow easily in their footsteps. Yet their trail was not to become the well-used highway to California that Gálvez had anticipated. The water supply was too uncertain for large groups, and the shipment of cargoes from San Blas across the Gulf of California too difficult and time-consuming. A route direct from the mainland was needed and was found within the next few years. Nevertheless Rivera had proved the feasibility of reaching San Diego by land and had fashioned the first rungs in Gálvez' ladder to Monterey.

Cañizares, Rivera's official reporter, brought his diary to a conclusion on July 3, 1769. In spite of his youth and a natural desire to go ahead with the scouts, searching for water holes and camp sites, he had stayed with the main body of the expedition and had set down in considerable detail what they did and saw. His descriptions of the topography, and of the vegetation and wild life of the country through which they passed, were graphic and painstaking. He was careful to note landmarks, to record the direction in which the party was traveling, and to give his estimate of the distance covered between camps. On only one day did he fail to make an entry of their mileage; and if, for that day, we use Crespi's figure of four leagues, Cañizares' total of 121 leagues for the entire journey is borne out. Using 2.6 miles to the league, this would be approximately 315 miles, which is amazingly accurate in view of the fact that, by the modern road, the distance from the ruins of the old mission at Velicatá to San Diego is about 300 miles. Cañizares' recordings of latitudes seldom agree with Crespi's, but both were inaccurate, all of their readings being too high. Cañizares was usually farther off than Crespi.

The Cañizares diary is unique in that it is the only single account of the Rivera expedition. The Crespi diary is a composite presentation. Crespi drew from all the diaries which had been made on the trail by both of the land expeditions, so it is sometimes difficult to distinguish observations made by the advance party from those of Portolá and Serra who followed two months later. Cañizares' diary is the only known contemporary account of the argonauts of 1769 which has not heretofore been published, aside from two brief sketches, one by Father Vizcaino who went by sea, and the other by Joseph Velazquez, one of the soldiers with the land party.

The records kept by Serra, Crespi, Portolá, Vila and others have all been translated and printed. Perhaps because Cañizares was competing with diarists of greater experience and more exalted position, his record has not received more recognition. From the start his diary was an orphan. Even the Viceroy overlooked it in his first reports to the Council of the Indies, and it was lost among his papers for months.

The original of this manuscript has not yet come to light, and it may very possibly be in the archives of Mexico. The copy from which this translation was made is in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. A photostatic reproduction of it is in the Bancroft Library.

The Viceroy of New Spain submits this diary of the journey from Villacata to the Port of San Diego that was made by the land expedition going to Monterrey, to supplement that which was sent on the fourth of last May

Most Excellent Señor
My very dear sir:

I place in Your Excellency's hands the diary of the land expedition made from Villacata to the Port of San Diego, in order that, when you are informed of its contents, it will serve to supplement that which I sent in a letter of the 4th of last May. I did not enclose this diary with that letter because I misplaced it among some other papers.

May Our Lord protect Your Excellency for many years.

Mexico, July 27, 1770.

Your most devoted and humble servant kisses the hands of Your Excellency.

The Marqués de Croix

His Excellency Baylio Fray Julian de Arriaga

COPY OF THE DIARY OF THE EXPEDITION MADE BY LAND FROM THE SITE OF VILLACATA TO THIS PORT OF SAN DIEGO, THE FORMER IN 30° 20', THE LATTER IN 32° 44' ON THE PENINSULA OF CALIFORNIA[39]

[*By* José de Cañizares]

March 24, 1769

At four o'clock in the afternoon Captain Fernando de Rivera, after calling all the soldiers together, gave orders to pack up. During the preparations, the food and the rest of the necessary supplies were selected, and at four-thirty, when everything was ready, we all set out toward the north-northeast. Having traveled about a league and a half, we halted and pitched camp in a dry arroyo. Here the captain gave the soldiers orders for the next day, appointing them to guard the pack animals and care for the horses. Traveling in the company, besides the father and myself, there were ten soldiers who served as scouts. Nothing eventful occurred, and at nightfall two sentinels were posted in the camp and three with the animals. These were relieved during the night.

1½ leagues

March 25

In the morning the animals were rounded up. We began to pack, and, at seven-thirty, when everything was ready, we set out through the hills, following the course of the arroyo to the north-northeast. When we had gone about two leagues, we reached a level and pleasant stretch of country. At half past twelve we arrived, without having changed our direction, at the Arroyo de San Juan de Dios[40] (discovered by the Jesuit fathers on the last journey they made).[41] It was well supplied with pasturage, there were pools of water, and the banks were covered with some willow trees. During this day's journey the barrenness of the land continued, for it was covered with thistles and thorns, some trees called *cirios*, and cacti from which the Indians gather seeds. From the palms they get wild dates and from the cactus the seeds on which, together with *mescal* and fish, they sustain themselves. We saw some animals which looked like hares and others like goats, a beautiful sight, but they ran away as is their custom. Some natives came to camp, and we gave them glass beads. From Villacatá[42] to this camp site it is about seven leagues. Nothing at all unusual occurred, and at sunset the captain gave the same orders as on the night before.

5½ leagues

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Philip III's cedula of August 19, 1606, offered the most ambitious project for occupying the Californias, and it proposed an immediate settlement of the Bay of Monterey. It was filed in the government offices in Mexico City and left to gather dust.

2. Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez* (Berkeley, 1916), p. 136.

3. Croix arrived in Vera Cruz on July 18, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 165.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

5. It was to prove a very undesirable locality, as the climate was bad and the harbor inadequate. Charles E. Chapman, "Difficulties of Maintaining the Department of San Blas, 1775-1777," *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XIX (Jan. 1916), 261-70.

6. Gálvez to Croix, May 20, 1768, Archivo General de Indias, *Audiencia Guadalajara* [hereinafter listed as *Guadalajara*], 104-3-3.

7. The Russians at this time were trading for sea otter in the Aleutian Islands but had not reached the mainland of Alaska.

8. Junta, May 16, 1768, *Guadalajara,* 104-3-3.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Though no name is mentioned in regard to this ship, it was presumably the ill-fated *San José,* the third ship to go on the expedition.

11. This choice was changed later, for Vila as commander of the sea expedition had charge of one of the ships, and Juan Pérez of the other.

12. Gálvez to Serra, Aug. 13, 1768, Museo Nacional, Mexico, *Misiones de Californias* [hereinafter listed as *Misiones*], CCLXX.

13. Gálvez to Serra, *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1768.

14. Gálvez to Palou, *ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1769.

15. Gálvez to Palou, *ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1768.

16. Instrucción, Gálvez to Rivera, Aug. 20, 1768, *Guadalajara,* 104-3-3.

17. Gálvez to Palou, Feb. 20, 1769, *op. cit.*

18. Palou became acting president of the Baja California missions when Serra left for the north.

19. Gálvez to Serra, Feb. 22, 1769, *Misiones,* CCLXX.

20. A prodigious traveler, he went with Juan Pérez in 1774 as chaplain for the voyage of exploration to Alaska.

21. Serra, "Representación," March 13, 1773, Archivo General de la Nación, Californias, XXXVI.

22. Leather-jacket soldiers, who wore the sleeveless leather jackets that protected them from arrows.

23. Herbert E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 5. Atole was a thin gruel made of cornmeal and water.

24. Two hundred head of cattle, 140 horses, 46 mules, and 2 asses. The cattle and many of the other animals were left at Velicatá. Rivera drove them north when he made his second trip in 1770.

25. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

26. José de Cañizares, *Diario executado por tierra desde el paraxe de Villa-cata, à este Puerto de S*^{n} *Diego, situados por los 30 gr.*^{s} *20 min.*^{s} *el primero, y el segundo en los 32 gr.*^{s} *44 min.*^{s} *de lat.*^{d} *comprehendidos en la Peninsula de Californias. Guadalajara,* 104-3-3. Cañizares notes that everyone but Crespi was put on this ration on May fifth.

27. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

28. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 473.

29. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

31. It is quite possible that Rivera had received another message from Gálvez, urging him to start, and Crespi's late arrival must have added to his impatience.

32. Cañizares, *op. cit.*

33. Gálvez to Serra, encl. with letter of Aug. 12, 1768, *Misiones,* CCLXX. The Franciscans, however, established only the one mission at Velicatá. The later missions on the peninsula were founded by the Dominicans when they took over the administration of Baja California in 1772.

34. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Crespi says it was 150 varas long and 20 wide; that is, about 140 x 18 yards. Cañizares gives 24 codos for the depth. The vara was about 33 inches, and the codo about 16.5 inches.

35. Crespi says four of them deserted.

36. Crespi gives a much more detailed description of these natives than Cañizares, who was evidently more interested in their military abilities than in ethnological data.

37. Cañizares, *op. cit.*

38. The *San Antonio,* which had left La Paz on Feb. 15, had arrived in San Diego on Apr. 14; and the *San Carlos,* which had left a month earlier on Jan. 9, did not arrive until Apr. 29.

39. As in note 26 above.

40. San Juan de Dios appears on modern maps of Baja California, some twenty miles northeast of San Fernando. The maps used for identification of the trail were issued by the Dirección de Geografía, Meteorología e Hidrología, Mexico.

41. He refers here to the journey made in 1766 by the Jesuit father, Wenceslao Linck.

42. The usual spelling of this name is Velicatá.

"State of Jefferson"

By W. N. Davis, Jr.

FROM the days of Spanish rule, California has known many times the pull of local pressures working to get free of the larger political structure. The state's length, and the clear lines that emphasize its topographical sections, provide easy excuse for schemes of partition. The list of schemes and schemers is long,[1] and on it may be found the "State of Jefferson," a creation of the California-Oregon borderland.

Agitation in the region of the Siskiyou Mountains, adjacent to Oregon, was not new. In February 1854, for example, there was a citizens' meeting in southern Oregon's Jackson County, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a new territory and to devise means to effect the same";[2] the "propriety," however, was not forthcoming. On the California side of the border, a group of prominent Yrekans sought legislation in 1859 that would enable Californians living north of the fortieth parallel "to withdraw from the State" and form a separate government;[3] this plan fared no better, for the legislative committee's recommendation was negative. The "State of Jefferson" thus had local antecedents when, on October 2, 1941, a delegation of citizens, gaining the floor while the Curry County Court was in session, endeavored to demonstrate that separation from Oregon and alliance with California were objectives of the utmost desirability.[4] The basis of their argument was the alleged gross negligence of state officials in slighting development of the county's rich mineral resources, at a time when the needs of national defense cried aloud for greater metal production. The court joined cause with the group by naming a commission to study the procedure for a territorial transfer: Gilbert E. Gable, mayor of Port Orford; Collier Buffington, Gold Beach attorney; and Elmer Bankus of Brookings. Territorial divorce — secession — has a powerful historic association in this country. The secession label almost certainly assures an audience, and the action of the Oregon county was news with appeal. Curry County is "planning to secede," in distant New York the eminent *Times* reported on October 4, 1941.

In Salem, Oregon, at this time, state officials professed small concern over, or even interest in, the wild talk in Curry County.[5] Gov. Charles A. Sprague had no comment. Two attorneys on the state payroll, requesting their names be withheld, assured a reporter that secession was not legally possible. When the subject was called to his attention a few days later, California's governor, Culbert Olson, remarked that the California government had received no word from the disaffected Oregon county, but that he was "glad to know they think enough of California to want to join it."[6]

That serious intent was mingled with farce in the campaign soon became evident. The Oregon Cavemen[7] (a social and service club of Grant's Pass in neighboring Josephine County), which had been organized to publicize the Oregon Caves, responded to Curry's gesture for independence by proposing on October third that common forces be joined to form a mid-Pacific empire, independent of both Oregon and California.[8] The "Tribe," propelled by forces of sectionalism, advanced the following arguments in support of the new state of "Cavemania":

1. Siskiyou County, California, in 1940 sought annexation to Oregon.
2. Curry County, Oregon, desires to join California.
3. Del Norte County, California, is "still hopping mad over an old reference in the Sacramento legislature that they barter only 'bear claws and eagle beaks.'"
4. Josephine County, Oregon, through its membership in the Redwood Empire, exhibits as a California county in various expositions and fairs.
5. California has already annexed Klamath county's Crater Lake.

"Obviously," stated the tribe's Chief Bighorn, E. K. Mille, to the Curry Court, "it would be impractical for northern California counties to join Oregon and southern Oregon counties to join California. Therefore we propose the formation of Cavemania, and welcome you, by your official proposal for secession, as fully qualified Cavemaniacs."[9]

The Portland *Oregonian* on October 4, 1941, said editorially: "Curry, Beware!" The attitude of the recalcitrant county was denounced. "Under Curry's example we [the United States] should pack up and quit this globe," it stated. And then, making light of the idea of secession, the paper continued:

> If ambition be realized, Curry would of course immediately acquire the glorious climate of California and become a haven for retired mid-west farmers; development of its mineral riches would add much more to the population. Gold Beach would become a metropolis with offensive slums, and Latin quarters, and traffic problems and police scandals and what not to cause dislike of it throughout the hinterland. Whereupon the hinterland would logically secede from Gold Beach.

On Thursday, October 30, 1941, the governor of California was host to two delegations from Oregon.[10] From Curry County came the three-man commission appointed by the county court, headed by Mayor Gable. After hearing Gable's description of the plight of Oregon's "Cinderella county," and his plea for the county's admission to a wide-awake California, the governor suggested that the efforts of the group for separation be applied first to gaining Oregon's consent. The second party of Oregonians — some Cavemen from Grant's Pass — protested the Curry proposal; and "Secesh Move Seen Halted" was the headline chosen by the *Oregonian* for its account (AP) of the dead-end met by the rebels in Sacramento.[11]

In viewing Curry's month-old effort, the Oakland (California) *Tribune* on October thirty-first declared that "after all of the talk of a 'seceding' or 'rebel' county has subsided, Curry County will be the gainer . . . It has publicized resources in [a] way to command attention. Perhaps that is what it set out to do in the first place." This, of course, was the intention.

Leadership in the movement crossed to California in mid-November. On the seventeenth, representatives of Curry and of California's Del Norte and Siskiyou counties met in Yreka, county seat of Siskiyou, and outlined plans for a six-county interstate alliance "for the express purpose of promoting development of the mineral resources of northern California and southern Oregon."[12] Special committees would, if recommendations were followed, be appointed by the county supervisors to collaborate in the work. The primary aim of the group was to secure governmental aid, state and national, for a program of road and bridge construction throughout the chrome, manganese, and copper-bearing districts, at the moment all but inaccessible. The idea of secession was incidental, if present at all.

The next day, however, after thinking over Mayor Gable's assertion that California was treating its border counties as badly as Oregon was treating its own, the Yreka chamber of commerce unanimously passed a resolution calling for a study of the procedure necessary for creating a forty-ninth state.[13] "Mittelwestcoastia" could well be formed from the six-county border bloc — Curry, Josephine, and Jackson in Oregon; and Del Norte, Siskiyou, and Modoc in California — a region allegedly "ravaged by the neglect of Sacramento and Salem."[14] In a special session at the courthouse on Tuesday morning, November eighteenth, the Siskiyou County supervisors, complying with the decision of the meeting on the day preceding, named a five-man commission headed by O. G. Steele, Yreka power company official, to investigate means of securing better roads to the mineral areas, and appropriated $100 to defray its preliminary expenses.[15] But the board declined to act on the proposal for a new state. The Del Norte supervisors appointed a similar five-man commission.[16]

The Yrekans professed to be and were impressed by the Oregonian, Mayor Gilbert E. Gable. "Hizzoner is one smart cookie," the local editor opined;

> . . . more people have heard of Curry County in the past month than heard of it before in 40 years. The "secession" stunt was personally engineered by Mayor Gable . . . and he has exactly eight big scrap books jammed to the gunwales to show for his trouble . . . There was nothing of a racket about Curry County's demand for a fair deal — it was just darned good showmanship. Siskiyou, which has been cold shouldered by various California big-wigs since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, might profit by Curry's sound tactics.[17]

Once unfurled, though not taken up by the supervisors, the secession banner was accepted by the campaigning Californians. Now came favorable news from Modoc County, the California county to the east.[18] Supervisor E. F. Auble had declared Modoc would join the drive for independence. "Something must be done if we in the north are to receive any recognition," he contended in echoing the party argument. "Modoc Aboard 49th State Bandwagon" provided a headline for the *Siskiyou Daily News*.[19] On the other hand, a delegation from Del Norte County failed to enlist Jackson County, Oregon. Judge J. B. Coleman of the latter county explained that it was "purely an advertising stunt and such is frankly admitted. I told them this county would delay joining in the stunt."[20]

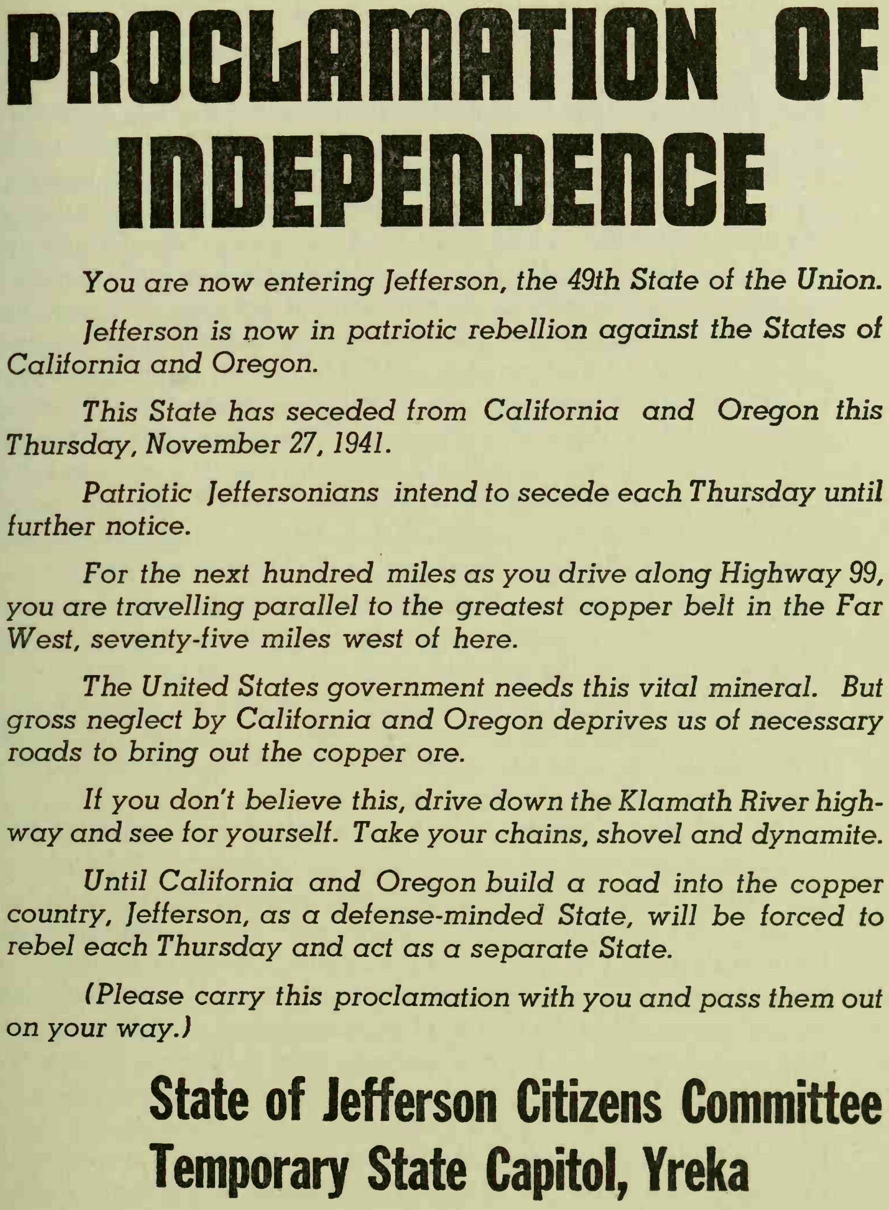
Meanwhile, the story of the "secession" swept across the nation. In an editorial titled "Fun from Wonderland," the *Oregonian* on November 20, 1941, displayed pique at the Port Orford mayor's conduct, denouncing the open letter Gable had written to Governor Sprague "harshly and oratorically demanding" to know what Oregon had done for Curry's mineral development. "Maybe it is all an advertising stunt, but Mayor Gable is carrying his side of the comicality to extremes . . . [He] has ceased to be funny. It is refreshing to get a new comic relief from California."

The mayor was not at all trying to be funny. As the organizing force and head of the Oregon Engineering Co., the Port Orford Dock and Terminal Co., the Last Frontier Realty Corp., the Trans-Pacific Lumber Co., and the Gold Coast Railroad Co., he had reason for wanting outside aid for Curry.[21] "For all the fuss, it is not likely that either county [Curry and Siskiyou] is seriously concerned," again reflected the Oakland *Tribune* on November twentieth. "Each has discovered publicity gold in hills rich in ore. . . . The result has been National advertising worth many thousands of dollars. . . . Their chambers of commerce are entitled to congratulations." And yet, in the back of the observer's mind was the question: was the talk of secession wholly a stunt? A new state! Were there those among the drum-beaters who would have one?

The *Siskiyou Daily News* on November nineteenth carried an article headed "It was a Tough Battle, Men, But We Won," which peered into the future to see the forty-ninth state a member of the union, with Governor Gable at the helm of an earthly paradise, free of Oregon and California oppression. The same issue of the *News* announced a contest to name the new state. Declared the winning name a few days later was "Jefferson, U. S. A.," the nomination of J. E. Mundell of Eureka, California, who had "lived in two territories that came in as states," and was, therefore, a particularly apt participant.[22]

Among other names entered were Orofino, Bonanza, Klamath, Del Curiskiyou, New West, Siscurdelmo, New Hope, and Discontent, the last the not-to-be-wondered-at contribution of a San Francisco newspaper.

On Thursday, November 27, 1941, the "State of Jefferson," this time under the guidance of members of the energetic Yreka 20-30 Club, issued its "Proclamation of Independence" in "patriotic rebellion" against California and Oregon, and promised, noisily, to "secede" each Thursday thereafter



PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

You are now entering Jefferson, the 49th State of the Union.

Jefferson is now in patriotic rebellion against the States of California and Oregon.

This State has seceded from California and Oregon this Thursday, November 27, 1941.

Patriotic Jeffersonians intend to secede each Thursday until further notice.

For the next hundred miles as you drive along Highway 99, you are travelling parallel to the greatest copper belt in the Far West, seventy-five miles west of here.

The United States government needs this vital mineral. But gross neglect by California and Oregon deprives us of necessary roads to bring out the copper ore.

If you don't believe this, drive down the Klamath River highway and see for yourself. Take your chains, shovel and dynamite.

Until California and Oregon build a road into the copper country, Jefferson, as a defense-minded State, will be forced to rebel each Thursday and act as a separate State.

(Please carry this proclamation with you and pass them out on your way.)

State of Jefferson Citizens Committee
Temporary State Capitol, Yreka

The "Proclamation of Independence" in handbill form, distributed to travelers along Highway 99.

until the negligent state governments took measures to build the roads necessary to bring out the ore. The proclamation was printed in handbill form and distributed to travelers along U. S. Highway 99. Yreka was designated the "Temporary State Capital." Chosen as "state" seal was a mining pan etched with a double cross, representative of the long-time injustice suffered by the provincials at the hands of Salem and Sacramento. Sales, income, and liquor taxes were, in a wave of exuberance, "outlawed" and all strikes were "banned" for the duration of the national emergency.[23] On the same day an editorial – "A State of Mind" – appeared in the *Siskiyou Daily News* which summed up the sentiment of the promoters of Jefferson. Fun there was in the project, it was admitted, but there was "an underlying seriousness that cannot be denied." And growing noticeably was the determination to "do something" about local grievances. "Rebellion in the Hills . . . may be funny," said the Oakland *Post-Enquirer* of November 27, 1941, "but politicians should watch the move closely. For it also may be symptomatic."

In a message to Governor Olson on November twenty-seventh, the "State of Jefferson Citizens' Committee" officially informed the California government of its plan of weekly "secession" until California and Oregon undertook seriously to cooperate in the defense program.[24] The nation's welfare was at stake. If the two states would not make a greater effort to increase the metal production of the country, a new state was on its way that would. "Gentlemen," the letter to the state officers concluded, "you are playing with T. N. T. And we are serious."[25] On the following day, officials of the California state departments of public works and natural resources, in self-defense, denied the charge of neglect.[26]

The Jefferson campaign proved a convenient sounding-board for the broadcast of economic and political grievances elsewhere.[27] When the secretary of the Susanville chamber of commerce, in writing to Yreka for information on the autonomy movement, used the opportunity to allege California's neglect of his own county, Gable's "seeds of secession" were seen to be sprouting in Lassen County.[28] In remaining aloof to the invitation of the "secessionists," the men of Humboldt County, in California's northwest, were likened by a UP staff correspondent to Horatius Cocles: "Only the future could reveal if the sturdy Humboldt business men – their minds on lumber and fishing – would go down in history as disciples of him who held the bridge against advancing Etruscan forces, or live as so many king Canutes."[29] The Santa Cruz *News*, far to the south, picked up the rhythm of the northern lament and mused over the neglect of its own region.[30] On December first the board of supervisors of Trinity County in northwestern California voted unanimously to support the Jefferson crusade for internal improvements.[31] The same day, in protest against the California State Federation of Labor's plan of reapportioning membership in the senate according to population, came a wire to Mayor Gable from the Associated Farmers of California asking his reaction to the idea of California's rural counties joining the secessionist movement.[32] The same day, also, an anonymous handbill, denouncing the forty-ninth-state movement, appeared in the streets of Yreka.[33] (Local rivalries had come to the surface.) "Disown those who seek to betray us," read the broadside. "Citizens, this is treason! Down with the Forty-Niners!" The missive was signed, "Anti-Jefferson Committee," whose banner-cry was "48 States or Fight." A copy of a letter sent to Governor Olson, in which the "Anti-s" pledged allegiance to California, was also circulated. In reporting "this ill advised attack," the editor of the *Siskiyou Daily News* exhibited tolerant scorn. But the challenge was accepted. All that the people of the frontier counties wanted, the editor asserted, was "elbow room and a referee who can count up to ten."[34]

Mayor Gilbert E. Gable, the Oregon promoter, died suddenly at his home in Port Orford on Tuesday morning, December 2, 1941, at the age of fifty-five. On the previous Sunday, he had been in Yreka to discuss the campaign for mineral development, and, as "the acting chief executive of the new state," he had sent word for a "provisional Territorial Assembly" to convene in the near future.[35] Mayor of Port Orford since its incorporation in 1936, Gable had come west to invest in the future of Curry County's natural resources.[36] His sometime-pose as a rustic was enriched by his background: promoter, producer (of motion pictures and radio programs), adventurer, explorer (with expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Museum of Natural History; he discovered dinosaur tracks in the American southwest), publicist (for eleven years a public relations man for the Bell Telephone Company in Philadelphia), industrialist, also enthusiast of the good life.[37] Without votes to influence legislators in the development of his region, he had turned to publicity to accomplish that end. "Gilbert Gable was a true son of the frontier, and a gallant champion of individual rights," the Siskiyou County supervisors declared, in a resolution to continue his crusade for recognition.[38] Stirred but not disheartened by the loss of their leader, the "secessionists" went ahead with plans for the "territorial" assembly, State-Senator Randolph Collier and O. G. Steele of Yreka having assumed Gable's role.[39] In a promoters' caucus on the eve of the assembly, the names of three men were put forward as candidates for governor of Jefferson.[40]

December 4, 1941, was Jefferson's great moment. Publicity was at the peak. In Yreka, to cover the assembly, were units of four Hollywood newsreel companies. Earlier in the week a crew from *Life* and *Time* magazines had toiled for three days in the mud of the region, photographing and chronicling the background of Jefferson, and had departed professing sympathy with the movement.[41] The citizens of Yreka were asked to cooperate on the assembly day with the cameramen. "Please attend the filming and be photographed," requested the *Daily News*.[42] "Please wear western clothes if they are available. Parents are urged to bring their children. . . . Two hundred people in western costumes will be selected to march past the camera for closeups."

Let us look on Jefferson's "territorial" assembly on December 4, 1941.[43] It is thirty minutes past two o'clock in the afternoon. The wooded lawn of the Siskiyou County courthouse, in Yreka, is crowded with a throng of several hundred people. Curious townsmen, ranchers, miners, visitors, "the great and the gawking," practically all of the town's school children, for a holiday has been declared, and a sprinkling of the "secessionist" promoters, wearing broad-brimmed hats and boots, are standing about under the chestnut trees. Brilliant in their scarlet uniforms, the girls of the high school drum-and-bugle corps await their turn to entertain the crowd. A boy wearing a coonskin cap roams the grounds with two bear cubs at the end of chains. The newly-erected speakers' platform, in front of the courthouse, is gay with bunting and American flags. A sizeable map of the "State of Jefferson" stands to the left of the rostrum, and, to the right, nailed to a tree, is a sketch of the new "government's" patron saint, Thomas Jefferson. On a special platform, forty feet from the speakers' stand, are the newsreel cameras and their crews. A loud-speaker is stationed at the curb behind the cameramen.

Now the officers of Jefferson mount the platform and the "territorial" assembly awaits its cue. In a moment, the cameramen shout for action and the assembly is under way. It is a staged production; from the loud-speaker at the rear the crowd and the officers receive their instructions. First to the crowd: "Get over there and be looking at the map. Don't look at the camera." School children are everywhere. "We have too many children. Can't we get a few more adults in there?" "Show a little enthusiasm. Wave your arms!"

On the platform, the first white child born in the "State of Jefferson" was introduced to the crowd. A spokesman then proclaimed the fact that the "secessionists" were in earnest: "We who are on the inside know it is a very serious affair." But the planned program fell before the impatient cameramen. "Introduce the governor next," commanded the voice over the loud-speaker. "When the governor is introduced, throw your hats into the air." As John L. Childs, 78-year-old retired jurist of Del Norte County — a short, weedy man of simple dignity — was presented as the titular head of Jefferson, the promoters on the platform rose in unison, and the crowd, prodded by the voice, demonstrated its enthusiasm. The "governor" began a round of handshaking with his colleagues, but was interrupted. "Please say something. Act like you are talking. Say anything." Then the cameramen milled over the platform for closeups, the "governor" being photographed with one of the boy's bears.

Photographers momentarily satisfied, Chairman Randolph Collier introduced Jefferson's new officers. Del Norte, Siskiyou, and Trinity counties, California, and Curry County, Oregon, were represented in the offices of governor, chief justice, attorney-general, secretary of the chamber of commerce, chaplain, and U. S. congressmen. Governor Childs, looking "every inch the frontier statesman," began to deliver his brief inaugural address. Paraphrasing I Kings, xii: 16, the governor struck out with, "When all Israel saw that the King gave them no confidence, they cried 'Oh King what do we get?' We want you to know that from now on the King can take care of himself and so can we take care of ourselves." The governor proceeded to a short harangue against the state and federal governments in general and Los Angeles County in particular, and was heckled a time or two by someone in the crowd. "Yes, we're in earnest about this matter of the State of Jefferson," he said in conclusion.

Old-time practices of the campaign were not neglected for the new. Immediately following the assembly a "torch-light" parade made its way through the streets of Yreka. The order of march:

Sound car with loud-speaker.
American flag guard.
Yreka High School Band.
Large group of school children bearing placards and torches.
Portrait of Thomas Jefferson.
Two bears on chains led by small boys.
The governor, cabinet, and promoters, walking.
Children with torches.
County names on placards.
Girl drum and bugle corps.
A model T Ford, labeled "The Last Frontier."
Three large trucks well-coated with mud.
A few automobiles.
Eleven mounted horsemen.

On the corner of Fourth and Miner streets, the mobile newsreelmen filmed the passing throng. "California Forgot Us," stated one parade placard. "The Promised Land," declared another. "Our Roads are Paved with Promises." "Our Roads are Not Passable: They are Hardly Jackassable." Out on Highway 99, bands of "mountain cavalry" were "blockading" the traveler. The "State of Jefferson" had reached its zenith.

The "49th state," as of the inaugural on Thursday, December 4, 1941, comprised Curry County, Oregon, and Del Norte, Siskiyou, and Trinity counties, California, 11,988 square miles in total area and five per cent of the combined territories of the two states. Though considerably larger than Massachusetts, the Jefferson counties boasted but 41,707 inhabitants — one-half of one per cent of the combined populations of Oregon and California.

The next day, Governor Childs fired a broadside at the federal government, the owner of large tracts of lumber and grazing lands in the region — "land that pays no taxes" — advocating that it assume a larger share of the local tax burden.[44] In addition, the governor declared that he would begin work immediately to convince the California lawmakers that the road demands of the Jeffersonians were just. At the same time, encouragement came from Medford and Ashland in southern Oregon, where the chambers of commerce announced their "moral support" of Jefferson.[45]

The Yreka "secessionists" were "one tired bunch" after the big show.[46] But results were extremely gratifying: publicity had been achieved in abundance, and bona fide investigations were promised by engineers and capitalists.[47] From Sacramento came word that the state forestry board would hold a special meeting in Yreka to study northern California timber problems.[48] "It's back to work and earning a living for me," declared more than one of the promoters.[49] "Two weeks on the publicity merry-go-round" were over. "The 49th state . . . sat back . . . to see what would happen next."[50]

The "State of Jefferson" was primarily the work of a handful of Yreka men, foremost of whom were State Senator Randolph Collier, O. G. Steele, Walter B. Stafford, and J. D. Maginnis, with Stafford of the *Siskiyou Daily News* handling the publicity. The "Citizens' Committee," which put up such a bold front, had no specific membership; it varied according to time and circumstance, with elements of the Yreka chamber of commerce and the "20-30 Club" sponsoring aspects of its functions. No central organization for the release of "official" statements was employed; each participant, speaking his own mind to willing listeners, picked up and added to the "secession" story. Reports carried in local and outside newspapers were highly dramatic and journalistically exaggerated. Future antiquarians may be misled by the accounts carried in San Francisco papers.[51] It is true that, by the time the movement reached its climax, a few of the promoters had shouted themselves into believing secession would be a good thing if it were constitutionally possible, but the feeling was nowhere widespread, as the press accounts would have one believe.

What did the people of the "secessionist" stronghold — Yreka — think of Jefferson?[52] Most of them were frankly amazed at the amount of publicity given the project throughout the state and nation. When asked, on the day of the assembly, what was going to happen to the "secession" scheme, a county employee replied, "It is too fantastic to say." A city official thought that it was "all right if they don't go too far." Another county employee, questioned if the "secessionists" were serious, answered, "If they are, they're crazy. I haven't paid much attention to them." Still another county official believed that the idea "was about worn out." "I don't like to say it," a Yreka businessman confided to the writer, "but I don't think this is any time to be spreading confusion in the state."

When his view of the "secession" was sought, Charles Herzog, resident of Yreka since his birth in 1856, turned to the past to recall early-day "rookings" taken by the settlers of the Yreka district at the hands of Oregonians; and, while admitting that the scheme was quite a show, was suspicious of anything begun by a Webfoot. James G. Fairchild, of Modoc War days, viewed Jefferson with good-natured tolerance. A Yreka bootblack gave his considered opinion: "I look at the State of Jefferson idea just like I looked at the Ham and Egg idea—it won't go over."

In variance to what most of those interviewed told the writer, a Yreka attorney professed his conviction that a majority of Yrekans would vote themselves a new state if it were possible. This was the unyielding view of Senator Collier, the backbone of the forty-ninth state movement, who was serious when he said he would vote "yes" if the secession proposal could be brought to a vote. Collier's stand stemmed from his experience in Sacramento where he witnessed the "Los Angeles dominance" of the state government and the dwindling power of the state's rural areas. The influence of Senator Collier on his fellow promoters was great; his support gave the project respectability and, in the eyes of the press, a workable acceptability. But the fact remains, Jefferson did not reach beyond the circle of its authors. The average Yrekan watched and read of the details from the sidelines, even as the reader of the city newspapers.

One of the shrewdest of the Jefferson promoters was Walter B. Stafford of the *Siskiyou Daily News*. A veteran of the publicity game, he recognized the climactic character of the Thursday assembly and advocated dropping the new-state idea "while it was hot." Some there were, however, who were reluctant to give up the stage and anxious to plan another and bigger and better publicity show. A meeting of the promoters was scheduled for Saturday evening, December 6, 1941, at which time Jefferson was to be organized and unified. Spontaneous demonstration had served its purpose. Henceforth there would be but one source of official Jefferson news. A day earlier, publicity-wise Editor Stafford had informed the writer that "the State of Jefferson will die in a few days." Collier, too, said the impossibility of the project would bring its hasty demise. "Next week," said Stafford, "some one else's cat will be up a telegraph pole and getting all the publicity." The next week would start with December 7, 1941—the day of the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor.

A final statement remained forthcoming from Yreka, and on December eighth, Judge Childs closed the cover on the story of the "State of Jefferson" as such. "In view of the National emergency," the judge announced, "the acting officers of the provisional territory of Jefferson here and now discontinue any and all activities. The State of Jefferson was originated for the sole purpose of calling the attention of the proper authorities . . . to the fact we have immense deposits of strategic and necessary defense minerals and that we need roads to develop these. We have accomplished that purpose."[53]

California's "Jefferson," unlike Colorado's "Territory of Jefferson," never approached the status of a functioning political entity.[54] The "State," as has been pointed out, was a giant publicity stunt, directed at drawing the attention of responsible officials to the internal needs of the Oregon-California borderland. "Secession" was the mantle assumed to assure the project's success. But under the mantle and regardless of noise and winks, was genuine concern over the welfare of the region. As such, it represented an episode in the endless adjustment of outlying counties to the political structure of the state.

NOTES

1. The most serious efforts to divide California appeared in the state's first decade. Plans for division, unlike most of those to follow, were initiated and developed within the halls of the state legislature itself. The entry of a separation measure on the calendars of the legislature, a requisite step, is, however, generally beyond the attainment of the divisionist promoter. Article IV, Section 3 of the *Constitution of the United States* reads in part: ". . . no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress." This provision is legal bar, indeed, to all but the most substantial movements; few separation schemes reach the local legislature, fewer still Congress.

Of the better efforts in the field: in April 1855, "An Act to create three States [Shasta, California, and Colorado] out of the territory of California" received the endorsement of the state assembly, only to lapse in the senate (*Cal. Assembly Jour., 1855*, pp. 359, 693); on April 18, 1859, Gov. John B. Weller signed "An Act granting the consent of the Legislature to the Formation of a different Government for the Southern Counties of this State," and set well along the project which more nearly reached success than any other (*Cal. Stats.*, 1859, 310-11), but approval of the projected division by the voters of the six southern counties and the state legislature was not enough – Congress declined to sanction the act (J. M. Guinn, "How California Escaped State Division," *Ann. Publ.*, Hist. Soc. So. Calif., VI, 1905, 229-31; Rockwell D. Hunt, "History of the California State Division Controversy," *ibid.*, XIII, 1924, 37-53). In a reversal of methods tried earlier, Congressman William Vandever of Ventura on Dec. 5, 1888, introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to divide California into two states, but the measure was never reported out of the committee to which it was referred (*Congressional Record*, 50th Cong., 2d sess., vol. XX, pt. 1, p. 39). The numerous attempts of eastern Californians and the Nevada legislature to induce California to cede its jurisdiction over the eastern slope of the Sierra have proved equally futile (S. F. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 20, 1857); *Laws of the Ter. of Nev.*, 1861, 513; *ibid.*, 1862, 195; *Nev. Stats.*, 1871, 187-88; *The Silver State* (Winnemucca, Nev.), Feb. 3, 1887; Lewiston (Idaho) *Teller*, Jan. 17, 1889. All projects for separation, whether the initiative was lodged in local interest, the state legislature, or Congress, have come to nothing: California's boundaries, as determined in controversy in 1849, survive intact.

2. Yreka *Mountain Herald,* Jan. 30, 1854, quoted in Charles H. Carey, *A General History of Oregon prior to 1861* (Portland, Oregon, 1936), II, 491-92.

3. While the state assembly was considering a bill to form a separate territory for the southern counties in Feb. 1859, Assemblyman William F. Watkins of Siskiyou County, in response to a letter he had just received from Yreka, signed by Ad. Winckler, J. M. Watson, Elijah Steele and eight others, introduced a measure which would "authorize the citizens of the State of California, residing north of the fortieth degree of north latitude, to withdraw from the State of California, and organize a separate Government." The matter was referred to a committee of the assembly of the counties, all or in part, north of forty degrees – Siskiyou, Del Norte, Klamath, Humboldt, Trinity, Shasta, Plumas, and Tehama – and, after two weeks of discussion, on April nineteenth Chairman John Daggett, assemblyman of Del Norte and Klamath Counties, announced that the majority of the committee recommended indefinite postponement of the measure, "the minority recommending its passage." There the idea rested (*Cal. Assembly Jour., 1859,* pp. 291, 552, 752-53).

4. The (Portland) *Oregonian,* Oct. 3, 1941.

5. *Oregonian,* Oct. 4, 1941.

6. Oakland *Tribune,* Oct. 14, 1941.

7. *Oregon: End of the Trail,* American Guide Series (Portland, ca. 1940), pp. 326, 361.

8. *Oregonian,* Oct. 4, 1941.

9. *Loc. cit.* In Port Orford, home of the chief secessionist promoter, Gilbert Gable, the high school student body took a stand. Reflecting the different elements of the drive, the pupils wanted no part of California, where there were "too many mountains without trees, too many rivers without water," but they favored "an independent empire of Curry." The minerals the students wanted saved for their children "to develop when they fight world war III." California's famed border inspection was brought in; "We don't want to go through a bug inspection station every time we return from Bandon" (*Oregonian,* Oct. 6, 1941). Later in the campaign, Siskiyou students in the Univ. of California came forward with a proposal for founding a new institution of higher learning in the borderland, to specialize in mining, agriculture and forestry (San Francisco *Chronicle,* Dec. 2, 1941).

10. *Oregonian,* Oct. 29, 1941; Oct. 31, 1941; Oakland *Tribune,* Oct. 31, 1941.

11. *Oregonian,* Oct. 31, 1941. It might be that state pride is hurt when a component wishes to break away.

12. *Siskiyou Daily News* (Yreka, California), Nov. 17, 1941.

13. *Ibid.,* Nov. 18, 1941.

14. San Francisco *Examiner,* Nov. 19, 1941.

15. *Siskiyou Daily News,* Nov. 18, 1941; Yreka *Journal,* Nov. 20, 1941; San Francisco *Chronicle,* Nov. 19, 1941.

16. *Siskiyou Daily News,* Nov. 18, 1941.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.,* Nov. 19, 1941.

19. For its issue of Nov. 19, 1941. Modoc County afforded the "secession" promoters little comfort after the first expression of sympathy in mid-November. On Nov. 27, 1941, it was reported that the "49th State's" backers "jumped on their war-horses and rode off in all directions." Riding "plumb into Nevada" was geographically isolated Surprise Valley in eastern Modoc County, whence, as of old, came a query to California's Sec. of State as to how that region might withdraw from California and become a part of the Sagebrush State to the east. Four days later, Modoc suddenly withdrew its support of Jefferson; the county supervisors unanimously declared their satisfaction with the

California government. "Modoc falters in campaign for minerals," reported the *Siskiyou*

20. *Oregonian*, Nov. 20, 1941.

21. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1941.

22. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Nov. 24, 1941.

23. San Francisco *Examiner*, Nov. 25, 1941.

24. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Nov. 28, 1941.

25. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1941.

26. Oakland *Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1941; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Nov. 29, 1941.

27. The extensive press coverage of Jefferson is manifest here.

28. *Post-Enquirer*, Nov. 27, 1941. "Lassen and Volcano want in 49th State," the *Siskiyou Daily News* on the twenty-seventh told its readers.

29. Berkeley *Daily Gazette*, Nov. 28, 1941.

30. As cited by the San Francisco *Chronicle*, Nov. 29, 1941.

31. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1941.

32. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 1, 1941; *Oregonian*, Dec. 2, 1941.

33. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 1, 1941. 34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.* The words "state" and "territory" were used interchangeably throughout the campaign.

36. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 3, 1941.

37. *Oregonian*, Dec. 3, 1941; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 3, 1941; San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 3, 1941. When the dock at Port Orford was completed in 1935, Gable had constructed one of the largest set-pieces of fireworks ever built, viz., a 780-foot long emblazonment in fire of the message received from Pres. Roosevelt, the signature of the president alone being 120 ft. long and 30 ft. high.

38. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 2, 1941.

39. *Oregonian*, Dec. 4, 1941.

40. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 4, 1941.

41. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 1 and 2, 1941.

42. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1941.

43. The account of the "territorial assembly" is taken from the notes of the writer, who attended the affair as a spectator.

44. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 6, 1941.

45. *Oregonian*, Dec. 6, 1941; Oakland *Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1941.

46. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 5, 1941.

47. San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 6, 1941.

48. *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 3, 1941.

49. *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1941. 50. *Ibid.*

51. The articles of Pulitzer-prize-winning reporter, Stanton Delaplane, of the San Francisco *Chronicle* not excepted.

52. The statements that follow come from interviews of the writer with Yrekans.

53. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Dec. 9, 1941; San Francisco *Examiner*, Dec. 9, 1941; Oakland *Tribune*, Dec. 9, 1941.

54. Frederic L. Paxson, "The Territory of Jefferson: A Spontaneous Commonwealth," *Univ. of Colorado Studies*, III (Nov. 1905), 15-18; "The Territory of Colorado," *American Hist. Rev.*, XII (Oct. 1906), 53-65.

Daily News. State Senator Collier of Yreka remarked, "I'd like to know who put the pressure on who over there." San Francisco *Examiner*, Nov. 28, 1941, Dec. 2, 1941; *Oregonian*, Nov. 28, 1941; *Siskiyou Daily News*, Dec. 2, 1941.

A French Pessimist in California

The Correspondence of J. Lombard, Vice-Consul of France, 1850-1852

Translated, with Introduction and Notes,
By A. P. NASATIR

TRANSLATIONS, by the present writer, of the official correspondence of French consular agents in California during the middle years of the nineteenth century, together with extended introductions and notes, have been appearing in this QUARTERLY and in other publications over a considerable period of years.[1] Reference to them will show the changes that had been taking place in the functions and personnel of French consular agencies in California since the arrival of Louis Gasquet, the first agent, in 1845; also, the conditions that greeted Vice-Consul J. Lombard when he reached Monterey on June 22, 1850.

Briefly, the situation in 1850 was the same as that of 1849, with crowds pouring into the newly organized, but as yet unrecognized, thirty-first state of the American Union. Among the crowds were Frenchmen who, two years before (February 1848), had witnessed in their own country a revolution, forcing out King Louis Philippe and ushering in, in his stead, the second republic; and they had seen provisional governments in power until, on December 20, 1848, the great Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president of France. (On December 2, 1852, he was proclaimed emperor, with the title of Napoleon III.)

As to the state of mind of these French emigrants and their numbers, the *Evening Picayune* of San Francisco had this to say on November 27, 1850, about five months after Lombard debarked at Monterey:

> Some tens of thousands of the citizens of France have arrived in California within the last two years, and have become mingled with the general mass of the population of the State.... We think it safe to estimate the French in the State to be at least one-sixteenth of the entire population. Those who have already entered the country, and those who are coming, represent about the same classes of society in France, as those of American society, represented by our own citizens. . . . In political sentiment, both are avowed republicans. But French republicanism always has been, and is now, on the part both of political leaders and of the general masses, an idea rather than a reality. . . . It has always gone out in crusades for the conversion of others. . . . American republicanism on the other hand has always been a present, operative, vital and applicable principle of self government, entering into all the relations of existing society and the every day operations in business affairs.... In California, the citizens of France who have been received with open-hearted cordiality to a full participation with their American brethren in all the advantages of our mineral, agricultural, mercantile and commercial resources, have

> manifested a remarkable readiness to conform to the practical action of the institutions of government established by the people with whose destinies they have come to link their own, without showing any offensive partiality for the views of governmental theory or policy that emanate from Paris....

How well the new vice-consul's training and experience fitted him for the task of furthering this "cordiality" cannot be stated definitely, because little is known of his past; but the first of the letters transcribed below brings us up to date, in so far as events just prior to his arrival in Monterey are concerned, and the correspondence that follows furnishes valuable data on the two years he spent in the state.

The reader will recognize, throughout, the pessimistic cast of his mind. So pessimistic was he that the French foreign office refused to make public some of his reports, because they differed from the views of Patrice Dillon and other representatives and explorers of France in California; and for fear that their publication would cause harm to French commerce. With each succeeding report, Lombard's pessimism increased. His journey to the mines fired his spirit of nationalism; he could see nothing good in raw California or in its raw society, though he did applaud the organization of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851, which he considered the first augury of a better future for the new state. Speculation, and the exploitation of the placers, agriculture and ranching, property and theft — such were the topics that found elaboration in his letters.

As will appear, he was able to perform genuine service in connection with the disasters that overtook the vessel, *Le Courrier de Cherbourg*, and a company of gold seekers, known as "La Fortune," which had been organized in France but was forsaken by the promoters before the members reached California.[2] Lombard well merited the approval of the minister of foreign affairs which was sent to him in a letter dated Paris, January 31, 1852.[3]

The date of Lombard's departure from Monterey is uncertain. On March 11, 1852, he was appointed consul of the second class with residence at Panama, replacing M. de Cazotte; and Moerenhout was appointed, or rather re-appointed, to succeed Lombard at Monterey, with the title of honorary consul of the second class.[4] A letter from the foreign office dated Paris, March 23, 1852, addresses Lombard as vice-consular agent of the Republic at Monterey, "now at no. 18, rue de Helder, Paris."

The Lombard documents, transcribed herewith, are part of the contents of Box Monterey in "Correspondence consulaire," archives of the French foreign office. Permission to copy and publish was obtained from the officials in charge. They are calendared in *French Activities in California . . .*, and were used to a slight extent in the conclusion to *Inside Story of the Gold Rush* (see note 1 below).

I

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Monterey, 27 June, 1850[5]

Monsieur le Ministre:

After a long and fatiguing crossing, I have the honor to announce to you that I arrived at last at Monterey the twenty-second of this month.

The first part of my trip[6] was speedy enough. Leaving Southampton the eighteenth of March, aboard the English steamer, "Le Trent," I disembarked at Chagres the twenty-second of April, at noon, and the same day I started across the isthmus towards Panama, where I arrived the twenty-fifth of the same month. But here began delays and embarrassments of all sorts. This town, general rendezvous for the European emigration, was then overcrowded with more than three thousand Americans, awaiting for months passage aboard the various steamboats which make monthly crossings from this port to San Francisco. A number of these emigrants, and I found myself one of them, had left their country without having previously made reservations on these steamers. Others, and they were the clever ones, had not only assured themselves of a departure on a fixed date, but had centered in their hands the exclusive monopoly of the sale of tickets for the entire summer season. Therefore one had to submit rigorously to the exorbitant requirements of these speculators, or resign himself to passing three months, under a burning temperature [and] on the eve of the rainy season, in a town crowded beyond expression, and which, due to this crowd, rendered the sojourn ruinous, because of the excessive cost of the necessities of life.

Not being disposed to pay one thousand dollars for a ticket, and still less desirous of eternalizing myself in this filthy hole, the meeting place of all the scum of the globe, the seventh of May, after fifteen days of fruitless undertakings, I decided to take passage aboard a French boat "Le Gustave" from Le Hâvre, which had recently arrived at this port and was going to San Francisco. But new difficulties awaited me. This ship of 265 tons burden took on board 112 Americans of the worst sort. We were not fifty miles from Panama when ferments of discontent and revolt manifested themselves aboard. The captain, a perfect man in every respect, had neglected nothing to give a certain welfare to his passengers. But his good will and efforts were bound to fail before the criminal conspiracies of a turbulent minority, which, on one pretext or other, held meetings, dragged in the masses, insulted the captain, and threatened to seize the victuals and the ship by sheer force, if these were not handed to them willingly. Our position became more critical every day. The extreme slowness of the voyage, due to *calms* — we took thirty-two days to reach Acapulco from Panama; the excessive heat of the temperature — the thermometer constantly stayed between thirty-two degrees and thirty-five degrees centigrade in the shade; the lack of water which was beginning to make itself felt — an inevitable result of the abuse caused by the passengers; and above all, the guilty projects nourished by the above-mentioned men towards the captain and his crew — projects accompanied by acts of violence towards a sailor and the lieutenant aboard, whose life was threatened; all these considerations, Monsieur le Ministre, decided us to put in port at Acapulco, where we arrived June eighth.

The captain and I went immediately to the American consul, to whom we gave information of what had occurred during the crossing, and whom we found perfectly disposed to aid us in reëstablishing quiet aboard. The captain desired to effect the arrest of one of the leaders — the one who had threatened the life of the lieutenant — but returning on board, we learned that this man had furtively disappeared, abandoning his luggage, and was, we were told, hidden on the American steamer, "The Tennessee,"[7] which, on the same night of our arrival, had started its course for San Francisco.

Desiring to avoid similar scenes in the future, the captain had the following notice posted to the mainmast: (see enclosure number one)[8]

Meanwhile, a second American steamboat, the "California,"[9] arrived in port, coming from Panama. Being loaded with mail, it was obliged to stop at all the ports along the coast. After having consulted with the captain of the "Gustave" concerning what was the best course to follow in such circumstance, I wrote a letter to that officer, under date of June tenth, a copy of which I have the honor to transmit to you herewith (see enclosure number two)[10] and two days later I left for Monterey, en route advising our consular agent at Mazatlan and the vice-consul of France at San Francisco of the above facts. Prior to disembarking, I addressed a special note to the latter on this matter.

I hope that the second crossing of the "Gustave" will be effected peacefully, but if it were otherwise, the fact of our having denounced in advance the criminal projects, will place the authors of same in the impossibility of fleeing from the just rigor of the law for any length of time.

Monsieur le Ministre, I am unable today to have the honor of portraying to you the state of affairs in Monterey and of the future chances which this town offers. It has not been possible as yet to obtain information of a nature which might interest our commerce. A serious study of the country will place me in a position to rectify this omission in one of my future communications.

I have the honor to address to you herewith, Monsieur le Ministre, the statement of my traveling expenses, with accompanying documentary proofs, begging you to be good enough to have the same refunded via my power-of-attorney.

I am with deep respect, [etc.],

The consular agent of the French Republic,
J. Lombard

A Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris

II

LOMBARD TO DILLON[11]

Agence Consulaire de France á Monterey
San Francisco, 7 October, 1850[12]

Monsieur the Consul of France at San Francisco:

In accordance with the instructions which you transmitted to me, dated September fifth, last, I immediately went to the placers[13] of the south[14] in order to observe the general condition of our nationals, take note of their complaints, render an account of them to you, and by my presence reconcile the French interests with the just exigencies of the laws and the respect due the authorities.

I arrived in Stockton September sixth, and immediately went towards the north-east to a locality called "Double Springs,"[15] forty-five miles from Stockton. Double Springs being the place where the various roads leading to the mines join, I made it the central point of my operations.

The next day, September seventh, I began my excursions via the Mokelumne River, visiting successively Oregon Camp,[16] Lower Bar,[17] Middle Bar,[18] and Dry Creek.[19]At each of these points, I ascertained the presence of our nationals,[20] disseminated in groups of from five to fifteen workmen, and occupied either in washing gold in the river and its affluents or working the Dry Diggings. At all these divers localities,[21] I was able to assure myself that gold exists in greater proportions than I could have imagined at first.

I arrived at the location of the mines with ideas if not hostile at least not very favorable. The accounts of several miners that I had consulted since my arrival in this country were not of a nature to enthuse me concerning the wealth of these auriferous terrains. But my presence at these points, the results I noticed, the immensity of the grounds not yet exploited, the excellence of the climate which did not permit me to notice even one lone case of illness amongst the miners, the perfect sanitary state of our compatriots — all these facts have singularly modified my opinions, and permit me today to affirm that for the man used to the hard labor of the soil, there is not a point on the globe which can offer comparable results to those awaiting him in the mines of California.

During the twenty-five days of my excursioning I went over approximately *four hundred leagues* in every direction, from the Mokelumne on the north to the Tuolumne River on the south. In all the divers places included between these extremities; from all the workers I questioned; everywhere and always the new facts I gathered have come to side with the favorable results which I had previously observed.

And yet, in the midst of a country so rich, so admirably favored with all the gifts of heaven, on more than one occasion I was able to observe not only misery, but the most frightful poverty amongst our nationals.[22] In such a stretch of ground, it is not astonishing that workers, disseminated haphazardly at isolated points, cannot realize, as promptly as one would suppose, the profits which, without a single doubt, await an exploitation more logically, more extensively and more regularly directed.[23]

Anyone who has visited this magnificent country will not doubt that as soon as an organization of work, intelligently combined, will be established in the mines, the profits will surpass all forecasts circulated up to now. The great drawbacks, which render the efforts of our nationals in this country for the most part fruitless, are the difficulties, the impossibilities, of their working in company. This will seem strange, yet it is the truth. There is not a single example of Frenchmen in the mines having been able to remain twenty-four hours associated together for an exploitation in common. Up to the present time, this special trait of the French character has been extremely unfavorable to the interests of our nationals, whereas magnificent profits crown the collective efforts of the American population.

Notwithstanding this bad direction given the work in the mines by our compatriots, and the little unity that exists between them, it is nevertheless a fact that the net product of a French miner, all expenses paid, is from *two to three piastres* per day, approximately. This relatively very small figure, the exactitude of which is confirmed by my personal observations and by the information which I obtained on the spot from the mouths of the miners themselves, is by far inferior to the results announced by certain organs of the American press. In my opinion, nevertheless, it is the only true figure — and the only one for a long time yet to come — which can be used to serve as a basis for a fair appreciation of the real profits of the exploitation of the mines by French hands.

To this first reason for the failure of the French which I have pointed out, is added a second, less serious in reality, but which did not fail to exercise an extremely troublesome influence in the beginning. I wish to speak of the tax imposed upon foreign miners, and of all the violence for which it served as a pretext.[24] However, one must agree that the acts of spoliation, committed at the beginning of the exploitation of the auriferous terrains by certain Americans of the worst sort, have become rarer and rarer today, and I have the satisfaction to advise you, Monsieur le Consul, that in the excursion I have just made, I only noticed five or six cases of this sort, for which I obtained complete and entire satisfaction from the American authorities on the spot.

This abuse of power on the part of certain alcaldes; these illegal contributions collected by certain swindlers, who claim to be agents of the United States Government; in short, this violence, which is not at all justifiable: all these facts are almost nil today. The population of the placers seems to moralize itself from day to day. Once in a while there still take place some assassinations, but they are isolated acts committed mostly by persons — strangers — at the mines, and for reasons that have nothing in common with their exploitation.

The tax of twenty dollars per month has been lowered to twenty dollars per year. The refusal of foreigners to submit to the first of these taxes does not exist for the second. Each miner considers it as perfectly benign, and I did not find a single one of our nationals who was not disposed to pay it.[25]

As it would be too long to enter in this report the details of the divers demands addressed to me during my tour, and which only deal for the most part with retrospective violences, I thought that it were better to make a separate note of it, and I have the honor to address to you, herewith, this note, Monsieur le Consul, leaving to your judgment to use it as you deem fit.

I will not conclude this report, Monsieur le Consul, without thanking you for the benevolence you have had in reimbursing me, upon presentation of my bills, the sums which I spent during this excursion, and which amounted to a total of *three thousand, two hundred and four francs.*

In the painful situation in which I find myself, due to the well-proven insufficiency of my salary as consular-agent in this country, the advance you were kind enough to make me was a great help. It allows me to await, from the enlightened benevolence of Monsieur the Minister of Foreign Affairs, an amelioration of my pay, which I beg you to be good enough to promote in my behalf, by bringing to the attention of Monsieur le Ministre the exigencies of the post which has been entrusted to me.[26]

Accept, Monsieur le Consul, the assurances of my distinguished sentiments,

The vice-consul of France at Monterey,
J. LOMBARD

III

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France á Monterey
Monterey, 20 January, 1851[27]

Monsieur le Ministre:

Since[28] my report upon the mines, addressed to Mr. Dillon under date of October fifth, last, and a copy of which was transmitted to you by that functionary, I have not left San Francisco.

My sojourn in this town is justified both on account of the absolute impossibility to live properly and by the absence of any kind of commercial transactions between France and my residence.

The port of Monterey, not being open to foreign vessels as yet, has enabled me to study with the greatest care, and in all details, the more or less great resources that the Californian conquest presents to our commerce.

I do not doubt that a great deal of information has reached you concerning this matter, and I certainly do not claim for myself to have the monopoly of observing and judging well. However, I venture to say without fear of being contradicted, that the rashness of some, the thoughtless enthusiasm of others, the superficial study of the great number and their personal interests placed above all other interests, have very singularly deflected the question from its truthful point of view and has given birth in France to hopes which are unfortunately unrealizable.

Having been delayed several months, the deception is only the more bitter today. Most of the emigrants are ruined, several are dead, and those who still have some monetary resources left, make haste to benefit from it in order to return to their country.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. For A. P. Nasatir's translation of the documents in connection with French consular agents in California, *see* this QUARTERLY as follows: incumbency of Louis Gasquet, in Vol. XI (1932), 195-223, 339-57, and Vol. XII (1933), 35-64; incumbency of J. A. Moerenhout, in Vol. XII (1933), 155-72, 331-57, and Vol. XIII (1934), 56-79, 159-75, 262-80, 355-85. *See also* his *The French in the California Gold Rush* (New York, 1934); his *The Inside Story of the Gold Rush* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., *Sp. Publ. No. 8*, 1935); and his *French Activities in California: An Archival Calendar-Guide* (Stanford University, 1945).

2. The company, "La Fortune," was launched on May 12, 1850. It offered 15,000 shares at 10 francs each, and 3000 at 50 francs. For particulars, *see* Nasatir, *The French in the California Gold Rush, op. cit.*, pp. 9-10; and Gilbert Chinard, *When the French Came to California* (this QUARTERLY, XXII, Dec. 1943, 300-301, 310; available also in pamphlet form).

3. *See* final document in this series.

4. Nov. 20, 1852, Lombard wrote to Moerenhout from Panama, replying to his of Oct. 15. It related to some consular papers and favors, and ended thus: "Adieu, my dear colleague. Kindly present my homage and respects to Mademoiselle Moerenhout and count on my entire loyalty. . . . P.S. Remembrances to all my friends of Monterey who wish me to know they have not forgotten me." Letter in Clinton collection; photostat in possession of present writer.

5. Ministerial notations:

Sent to [Direction des] Fonds [Funds] an extract of the letter, together with accompanying papers, September 10, 1850.

Answered January 31, 1852 [Document X of present series].

Sent to the Direction des Fonds, without the notice from the captain [note 8 below]. The inclosed papers, together with an extract of this letter, will suffice for the Direction des Fonds to judge the circumstances which have increased the expenses of M. Lombard's voyage.

6. For the sea voyage to California, *see* H. H. Bancroft, *California Inter-Pocula* (San Francisco, 1888), 121-224.

7. The *Tennessee* left Panama March 24, 1850, and arrived in San Francisco April 13. It again left Panama May 30, 1850. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1888), VI, 138. Edouard Auger (*Voyage en Californie, 1852-53*, Paris, 1854, *passim*), arrived in California on the *Tennessee* in 1852. *See* especially John H. Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-69* (Berkeley, 1943), consult index.

8. This inclosure reads as follows:

Rade [roadstead] d'Acapulco; aboard "The Gustave," June 8, 1850.

NOTICE

The Captain informs the discontented and agitative passengers, that he adheres to their disembarkment and that he will consent to return to them a sum equal to that offered by passengers ashore who earnestly solicit him to take them aboard.

In acting thus the Captain has the assurance that all pretexts of discontent will cease.

At least he will have recourse to the common sense of the majority to exercise his right, without prejudice, to take disciplinary measures which the laws accord to him, and for the complete execution of which he has taken all necessary legal steps, with the various French authorities and those allied to France, prescribed in such cases.

It is unnecessary for the Captain to add that he will do his best, as [he has done] in the past, to give his passengers all comfort compatible with the resources of the port.

The Captain of the "Gustave"
[signed] E. Cels

9. *See* V. M. Berthold, *The Pioneer Steamer California* (Boston & New York, 1932). The most complete account is in Kemble, *op. cit.*, consult index.

10. This inclosure reads as follows:

To Monsieur Le Capitaine of the
Three-masted French ship "Le Gustave."
Acapulco, June 10, 1850.

Monsieur Le Capitaine:

In consequence of the scenes of insubordination and revolt, which certain agitative passengers aboard your ship attempted to excite, and in order that in the future, should they try to renew them, the authors of such scenes might not be able to escape the just rigor of the law, I have the honor to advise you that I am leaving day after tomorrow, the twelfth instant, on board the steam-boat "California," in order to take all the necessary legal measures prescribed in such cases with the representatives of France and the authorities of the diverse nations, friendly and allied to the French Republic.

I authorize you, Monsieur le Capitaine, to give all the publicity you will judge convenient to this letter, so as to reassure the majority of honorable and peaceful passengers aboard your ship of the happy issue of their voyage.

Accept, etc. . . .
The consular agent of France
[signed] J. Lombard

11. A copy of Lombard's letter. It was transmitted by Dillon to Paris (*see* Lombard to Minister, Jan. 30, 1851 — Document III of the present series). For detailed information on the Irish-born Patrice Dillon, a naturalized citizen of France and a scholar of parts, *see* Nasatir, *French Activities in California* (as cited above in note 1), pp. 542-59.

12. Ministerial notation:

To Commerce, January 27, 1851. Answered January 31, 1852 [Document X of present series].

13. *Cf.* account of southern mines in Ch. de Lambertie, *Voyage Pittoresque en Cali-*

fornie (Paris, 1853). For names of Frenchmen in the region, *see* Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 86, 92 ff. Lévy says that upon the request of Gov. Peter H. Burnett, Dillon asked Lombard to go to the mines and use his influence to calm the French and effect an agreement. Dillon tried to show the governor the exorbitude of the $20-per-month tax on foreign miners, which was causing the trouble. Burnett's successor, John McDougal, voided the tax at the end of March 1851, but the legislature re-established it at $3 per month on June 1, and in 1852 increased it to $4. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 404-406. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 89, mentions Lombard's visit to the mines under Dillon's orders.

14. For information on the southern mines, *see* Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 109-36; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 367-77.

15. Double Springs is the same as Valley Springs, in the western extremity of Calaveras County between the Mokelumne and Calaveras rivers.

16. Perhaps Oregon Bar in Calaveras County. Oregon Gulch is a branch of the Mokelumne River near Campo Seco.

17. For mention of Lower Bar, *see* Bayard Taylor, *El Dorado* (London, 1850), I, 55.

18. Middle Bar is on or near the Mokelumne, west of Mokelumne Hill in Amador County.

19. Dry Creek, or Jackson Creek which runs into Dry Creek.

20. French Hill (not discovered until 1851), French Camp, French Creek, and French Bar are in this general area. Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 115.

21. *See* map in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 369.

22. Concerning the French in this region, *see* Lévy, *loc. cit.; History of Tuolumne County* (San Francisco: B. F. Alley, 1882), pp. 28 ff.; also *Miners' and Business Men's Directory* (Columbia, 1856).

23. The French usually remained apart at the mines, in isolated groups (Lévy, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-87).

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 92 ff. A good, brief account of the French in California may be found in Rufus Kay Wyllys, "The French of California and Sonora," *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, I, 337 ff.

25. Italics represent penciled underlines in the original.

26. This subject is mentioned in the last paragraph of Document X, in present series.

27. Ministerial notations:

To Commerce, June 24, 1851. Answered January 31, 1852 [*see* Document X].

28. Marginal notation by Minister: "This report was transmitted to the Commerce [Ministry], January 17, 1851." [Lombard's report on the mines is in Document II of present series.]

George Christopher Lovdal

San Diego's First Harbor Master and Deep-Sea Fishing Captain

By Myrtle Lovdal Rosenthal

SAN DIEGO, according to the 1950 U. S. census, is now a city of some 334,387 inhabitants and has, facing its bay, the nation's greatest naval station. When my father, Capt. George Christopher Lovdal, built his cottage in 1887 on the north half of lots 25, 26, and 27 in block 189 of the Land and Town Company's addition to San Diego, the town was recovering from a deteriorated boom — a boom that had been brought on by anticipation of great things from the coming of the railroad and by success (in the minds of the promoters, at least) in solving the water problem.[1]

His property was located in Logan Heights, considered at that time one of the community's choice residential sections, the plan on which it had been laid out calling for streets running in a northwest-southeast direction, in order that every room of every house might get sunshine at some hour of the day.[2] But fulfillment never caught up with the plans.

Among the causes for deflation of the boom were skyrocketing of property values, demanding, inevitably, a break; bitterness, when the break came, on the part of those caught; the publicity given their recriminations in eastern newspapers; commencement of a campaign of misrepresentation, including the fallacy that San Diego lacked a back-country; and gradual withdrawal of the Santa Fe interests and removal of their headquarters to San Bernardino.[3] (San Diego had to wait until 1919, when the San Diego & Arizona Eastern gave direct rail communication with the east.)

In spite of these misfortunes, the *ABC Guide and Business Directory of San Diego* for 1889 (p. 13) enumerates the following urban assets, created during the boom to further the community's expectation of becoming the metropolis of the southwest coast: nine miles of gas mains, 226¼ miles of streets, 38 miles of sewer mains, 42 miles of street railways, and an electric light circuit of 25 miles. As to water, the *Guide* says that there were 46 miles of water mains (exclusive of Coronado Beach), three pumps in use, four reservoirs, and a total daily pumping capacity of 6,100,000 gallons.

With the increase in problems between the boom's beginning and its deflation, the inability of the trustees to keep expenditures within the legal limit of taxation had become apparent and resulted in motions to reduce salaries or to abolish, entirely, certain offices. It was at this point that my father's position became difficult.

LOVDAL AS HARBOR MASTER

As said above, George C. Lovdal built his home and moved his family to San Diego in the fall of 1887. Born in Norway on June 13, 1846, he had followed the sea, with only short breaks, since reaching the age of thirteen. A list of his sailing assignments shows vessels from Denmark, Norway, Germany, America, England, Scotland, and Canada; and the seas he saw included the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the waters off the West Indies, and those off the coast of China. In 1875, the schooner *Alice Haaki*, George C. Lovdal first mate, was run ashore, by the pilot, in the Amur River, Siberia. Upon being purchased by a Russian company and her name changed to *Nadeshda*, she was partially repaired, and, with Lovdal as master, she started for Nagasaki, to be placed on dry dock. On the way, successive hurricanes struck her, until, on October 23, 1875, she was torn to pieces. The crew were rescued and were cared for by the Russian government, which presented Lovdal with $1000 in gold, and the following certificate:[4]

Nagasaki, Jan. 16, 1876

Concerning the shipwreck of the Russian commercial schooner, Nadeshda, lost in the sea of Japan near the Island Eso: On January 16th, 1876, making a complete investigation with the assistance of Capt. Lieut. Valdionir Terentieff and the Sailing Master, Sergei Viaskinski, of His Imperial Majesty's Navy, it was ascertained that the late Master of the schooner Nadeshda, a citizen* of the United States of North America, George Lovedal [*sic*], did all in his power to save the schooner according to the science of navigation, and that he, by his intrepidity, indefatigableness, and cool presence of mind in giving orders and making arrangements, was the means of saving the crew and passengers, all of whom were saved: therefore, the loss of the vessel is to be ascribed to the bad repairs and to the negligent examination or investigation of the schooner for the navigation by the Commission at Nicolaefshi, and Captain Lovedal is blameless and free from the responsibility of her loss. This, my decision, I base on the testimony of skillful and intelligent men, Capt. Lieut. Valdionir Terentieff and Sailing Master Sergei Kiaskinski who were present at the Imperial Russian Consulate at the completing investigation concerning the loss of the Nadeshda and also on the separate statement handed in by the Captain of the second rank, Paul Tirtoff, on the fourth sitting on this investigation, made at the Russian Imperial Vice Consulate in Yokohama, and also on the statement of the whole crew of the lost schooner Nadeshda.

[Signed] A. S. Filapovsky.

Seal, Russian Consulate, Nagasaki.

Following this episode, Captain Lovdal sailed from the Orient as a passenger to Astoria, Oregon, whence he made trips, as master, on the schooner *Frithiof* and on the *B. H. Ramsdell.* Finally, as master of the *Corsair*, he entered the Puget Sound trade.

In the early 1880's, being anxious to see his family settled on land, he took a small house in San Francisco. Mrs. Lovdal had been in the habit of sailing with her husband. Their first child, a boy, was born dead; the second, another boy, died at sea. This closed temporarily her career as a seawoman. The San Francisco *Directory* for the year commencing April 1880 lists George C. Lovdal as a dealer in wood and coal, on the west side of Valencia, between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets. Nearby was his residence, on Twenty-sixth between Valencia Street and San Jose Avenue. But the business of disposing of cargoes, such as wood and coal, on land, in place of their transportation by sea, satisfied him for only a short time, for the 1883 *Directory* shows him again on the water, the address given being the Master Mariners' Benevolent Association, 413 Sutter Street, where information on the coming and going of his ships could be obtained. In my possession is the original license he obtained to operate one of these vessels:

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*In my possession is the court order, dated Sept. 2, 1874, and signed by Judge Ogden Hoffman, declaring George C. Lovdal to be a citizen of the U.S.A.

UNITED STATES INSPECTORS CERTIFICATE

To Masters

X ISSUE No. 1 X

This is to certify that GEORGE C. LOVDAL has given satisfactory evidence to the undersigned Local Inspectors of Steam Vessels for the District of San Francisco Cal that he is a skillful MASTER of steam vessels and can be entrusted to perform such duties upon the waters of The Pacific Ocean Coastwise; specially of the Steamer "Ferndale"; and as pilot from San Francisco to sea and return and he is hereby Licensed to act as such Master and pilot on said steam vessels for the term of one year from this date. *Given under our hands this 27 day of June 1882.*

John H. Truman Inspector of Hulls.
James H. Hillman Inspector of Boilers.

While her husband was at sea, my mother lived in the San Francisco Bay area; here were born two daughters—Emilie Marie and Lillian Norma—and these acquisitions strengthened my father's desire to make another attempt to establish himself and his family on the land. From the then-current reports, an opening seemed to offer itself at San Diego, where an experienced person was needed to supervise the use of the harbor. It was for this reason that the family had made the move south, as described in the first paragraph.

A harbor master would have been superfluous in the earlier years of the port's history. According to the San Diego *Union* of December 31, 1887, it used to be a novel thing to see two steamers loading and unloading in the bay at the same time; but, during the period of the boom, the number of vessels jumped from 239 in 1886 to 930 from January to September of 1887, and there was no question about the need for such an official. The transcriptions below show that my father was first appointed to the office in December 1887 and then was duly elected to the same office the following month:

State of California County of San Diego
CITY OF SAN DIEGO

This is to certify, that at a Regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the City of San Diego, held in the City of San Diego, State of California, on the 5th day of December

1887, Capt. George C. Lovdal, was appointed to the office of Harbor Master, in and for said city.

Witness my hand and the Corporate Seal of said city, this 6th day of December 1887
[Signed] J. A. Thomas City Clerk.

Below this, and dated also on the sixth, is the signed statement of the oath to "faithfully perform the duties of Harbor Master in and for the city of San Diego, according to law, and to the best of my ability."

A second document, dated a month later, reads:

City Clerk's Office,
of the City of San Diego, California Janry 6th 1888
To Geo. C. Lovdal Esq

You are hereby notified that at a meeting of the City Council held in the City of San Diego, California, on the 5th day of Janry 1888, you were elected to the office of Harbor Master, and you are requested to appear before me within ten days from the service of this notice and take the oath of office, and if required by law, to give bond.

Respectfully,
[Signed] J. A. Thomas City Clerk

On January 9, 1888, his oath was subscribed and sworn to before City Clerk Thomas.

He must have taken up his duties immediately after the trustees' first action in the matter for on December 10, 1887, the following account appeared in the *Union*, in a column headed, "DOCK AND DEEP, Arrival and Departure of Vessels – Miscellaneous Notes":

> Some of the ship Captains are complaining of the trouble caused by owners of numerous small crafts on the bay. The Captains say that boats are often anchored so near the wharf that it is impossible to cast out the necessary lines to secure their vessels from drifting.
>
> Since the appointment of Captain Lovdal as Harbor Master the conditions in the bay have undergone somewhat of a change. This was noticeable last evening upon the arrival of the steamer Queen of the Pacific which passed into dock without trouble, every ship being properly anchored.

Reporting the January fifth meeting of the town trustees, the *Union* of January 6, 1888, gave the names of those who had been candidates for harbor master as "John Dillingham, George Lovdal, Thomas Newcomb and Samuel A. Hammond. Three ballots were taken, resulting as follows: Dillingham, 4-4-2; Hamilton [*sic*], 3-3-3; Lovdal, 4-5-7; Newcomb, 1-0-0. Captain Lovdal was accordingly declared elected." The salaries of the city officers were also listed; to cite a few: city attorney, $200 a month; collector, $125; treasurer, $25; city clerk, $100; police judge, $125; chief of police, $125; superintendent of streets, $150; city engineer, $100. The harbor master was to receive $100 a month.

In this same month, an event occurred which should have put new life and hope into the community. The San Diego "Short Line," comprising 125 miles of track from the Los Angeles depot to the D Street depot in San

Diego, was completed by the Santa Fe. The event gave the citizens an opportunity to extol the virtues of their harbor. Said the San Diego *Union* of August 10, 1888:

> Our Los Angeles visitors will find much to interest them to day in San Diego's splendid harbor – a harbor with a wharfage front of 25 miles having a bar with a greater depth of water than at the entrance of New York Bay, and upon which, a few months since, the second largest merchant vessel in the world found no impediment. They will see full rigged ships at the docks and enough anchored here and there to prove the available space for sea-going vessels . . . and if they take pains to examine the custom-house and newspaper statistics they will learn that last winter when commerce was brisk, from 50 to 60 deep sea and coasting vessels lay in the bay at once and had no trouble to discharge cargoes. . . . San Diego's harbor is not a gorgeous expression merely, but a magnificent and genuine bay capable of bearing upon its broad and placid bosom more commerce than San Francisco ever saw or dreamed of drawing.

Regardless of these high-sounding sentiments, the public mind was uneasy: charges of graft were being made against certain officials, and there was also agitation against a license fee, imposed on November thirteenth by the city council, on the majority of trades and occupations, as a means of improving the community's finances.[5] The following week came a proposal, from the Harbor and Wharf Committee of the council, to abolish the office of harbor master and to reduce the salary of the city jailer from $100 per month to $80, but the proposal failed of passage.[6] Public unrest culminated in the holding of a special election on December fifth, at which freeholders were chosen to form a new charter, and on March 2, 1889, the people voted to accept it.[7] Among the items of the new charter was the provision that the common council should, unless the laws of the state prescribed otherwise, exercise control and management of the harbor.

Captain Lovdal's term as harbor master had closed as of January 5, 1889. A summary of his report for the year 1888 was printed in the San Diego *Union and Daily Bee* of January 1, 1889. Exclusive of the steamers of the Pacific Coast Steamship Co., 268 sailing vessels had entered the harbor; of that number, 174 carried lumber, 32 carried railroad ties, 48 carried coal; and 14 vessels, from foreign ports, carried general cargoes. The lumber imports (including the railroad ties) totaled 92,529,556 feet; there were 71,440 tons of coal, and 22,683 tons of general cargo. His February first 1889 report is referred to by the *Union* as that of the "ex-officio Harbor Master." On February 20, 1889, he was back in San Francisco for the purpose of renewing his master's license. Shipping in San Diego was almost at a standstill, but a discovery was to make the year 1889 memorable in the harbor's history.

LOVDAL AS DEEP-SEA FISHING CAPTAIN

Details of this discovery are given officially in the report of A. B. Alexander, fishery expert on board the steamer *Albatross* of the U. S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries.[8] In January 1889, the *Albatross* was cruising the waters near Lat. 32° 27′ 30″, Long. 119° 05′ W, when she came upon the "Cortez Bank," which was found to be

> . . . the most promising offshore fishing ground on the California coast south of San Francisco. It has an area of 51 square miles, with depths less than 50 fathoms. . . . The shoal part of the bank is about 15 miles long (WNW and ESE). . . . Previous to the investigations of the Albatross nothing was known respecting the food-fishes inhabiting this bank.
>
> The demand for fish along this part of the coast is so limited at present that the fishermen do not find it necessary to venture outside of a few headlands in search of new grounds. . . . The fishing areas adjacent to San Diego and Santa Barbara are sufficient for the immediate requirements of those places, but with a considerable increase in population, more distant and deeper grounds will have to be sought for, necessitating the building of a larger and better class of fishing boats.
>
> . . . .
>
> The abundance of edible fishes on Cortez Bank, of the same species which now find a sale in San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles, indicates that the resources of this bank are sufficient to supply the southern California markets for some time. The deeper unexplored waters about the bank will probably also add to its importance as a fishing region, but the fishermen are not yet prepared to fish depths over 100 fathoms, having no knowledge of hurdy-gurdies and other conveniences of the Atlantic coast.

The kinds of fish mentioned in Alexander's report included whitefish, yellow-tails, red rock-cod, and fat-heads.

When the news reached the mainland through informal channels, influential citizens began to look into the situation. It was played up by the press, and Daniel Schuyler, a man of means, called a meeting in his office to make plans for the formation of a fish and canning company.[9] Among those present were John B. Hanbury, James A. McRae, Henry S. Slaughter, Judge Moses A. Luce, Dr. Thomas L. McGee, Captain Lovdal, and Capt. J. Wade McDonald. Schuyler announced that he had written for information and had received a reply (together with a tracing of the chart of the banks) from Lt. Comm. Z. L. Tanner, U.S.N., commander of the expedition aboard the *Albatross*. Tanner's letter confirmed the reports of fish in great abundance on Cortez Banks.[10] Schuyler then reported that he had secured the offer of a vessel, and, after some discussion, the Pacific Ocean Fish and Canning Co. was formed, with a capital stock of $300,000.[11] On May 24, 1889, another meeting was held, completing the organization of the new company.[12] A site was donated for the canning factory on San Diego Bay near the Twenty-second Street depot. All that remained was the arrival of the vessel that was looked to, to make history *and* their fortunes. She came on June nineteenth; by Saturday, the twenty-second, her barnacles having been scraped and a general overhauling done, she was ready to sail, with Captain Lovdal in command. The San Diego *Union* of June 23, 1889, thus described her departure:

> At five o'clock yesterday afternoon the sails of the schooner yacht Azalene were unfurled, and in a few moments the wind caught them, the craft moved away from the

> wharf of the foot of H street, and, in a short time passed out of the harbor and into the ocean. It had on board a gallant party of explorers, who are bound for the Cortez fishing banks on a voyage of discovery and investigation. . . . Those comprising the party who were going to make the trip were: Captain George C. Lovdal, D. Schuyler, John G. Capron, J. A. McRae, Herbert Young, Collins Gilmore, Bert McRae, Captain Kehoe, two sailors and a cook.
>
> During the afternoon a number of ladies visited and inspected the schooner. She is a magnificent little craft and must have cost at least $15,000 when new. Captain George C. Lovdal, who will have charge of the boat, is an old [he was forty-three at the time] and experienced mariner who has been master of vessels for twenty-seven years past, fifteen of which have been devoted to traversing this coast. Captain Lovdal took great pleasure in showing the ladies the boat, and delighted in pointing out its many excellent points.
>
> Captain Kehoe and the two sailors are experienced fishermen, and they will ascertain exactly what the Cortez banks are before the return of the Azalene. . . . While the party have taken with them provision to last for four weeks, they expect to return home on or before July 3. The result of their trip will be anxiously awaited because, if reports concerning the Cortez banks are true, the San Diego Fishing and Canning Company will, in the future, be one of the great institutions of this section.

In five days (June 28), the *Azalene* was back again and was made fast to Whitney's wharf at the foot of Twenty-eighth Street. At Ballast Point, on the way out, the party had taken on four dozen clams for bait. They had followed a SW course, and had covered 48 miles up to six o'clock Sunday morning (June 23). About noon the same day they sighted San Clemente Island, and at dusk they left the island behind and headed for Bishop's Rock on Cortez Bank.

The ship's log reads in part as follows:[13]

> Monday, 24th about 4 P.M., got first soundings on the bank, 50, 55, and 60 fathoms, but weather too rough for anchorage. Stood off and on all night, and Tuesday morning, 25th, about four o'clock sighted the steamer Hueneme, from San Pedro for Port Townsend, going in ballast with every inch of sail in the wind. Gave chase, overhauling said schooner at 7 p.m., and obtaining longitude and bearings from Capt. Elliott, commanding (who appeared on deck arrayed in white robes of night, presenting a statuesque though ghost-like appearance). Found we had drifted twenty miles from the bank during the night in a northwest by west direction. At 5 p.m. same day [Wednesday] again got soundings on the bank of forty-five fathoms, but weather too rough to admit anchorage.

Because of the wind, which had increased to a gale, and the falling barometer, it was deemed useless to attempt anything at the banks until the weather had settled; consequently, the *Azalene* returned to San Diego.

John G. Capron, who had gone on the trip, told reporters that it had been "the finest and most enjoyable one which I have ever taken, and although a few hardships were encountered, there is not a man who went who is sorry for it. The Azalene is one of the staunchest little vessels which ever rode a wave. . . ." He said there was no doubt as to the abundance of fish and expressed his belief that the fishing industry would be a big thing. "We are all satisfied that fish abound in great numbers and know exactly where to locate them. That was the purport of our trip." They planned to fish from small boats or dories, with lines made of strong rope containing about a hundred hooks each; and they proposed to fit up the schooner with two large tanks, to keep the fish alive and fresh until they arrived in San Diego. To this end, the company's plans called for attracting the fish at night by means of "an electric light in a net lowered into the water, into which the fish will swim and which, at the proper time, can be rapidly closed and drawn to the surface. . . . The electric light is to be run by a small dynamo on the deck of the Schooner." In the meantime, the *Azalene* was to be offered to anyone who wanted to charter her for the Fourth of July yacht races in the harbor.[14]

As to Captain Lovdal's family affairs — on July second his third daughter was born. He had seriously considered naming her "Azalene," but "Fredricka" won out. On July twenty-eighth the following item appeared in the *Union:*

> A PAIR OF VERY SMALL SHOES
>
> Captain Lovdal on his return with the Pacific Ocean Fish and Canning Co.'s schooner Azalene from the first trip to the Cortez fishing banks was greeted by a surprise which until yesterday he managed to keep a secret. The Captain was seen on the streets yesterday with a purchase under one arm, which proved to be a pair of very small shoes. In reply to a number of questions he said: "It is a little daughter."

On July sixth he set sail again with the *Azalene*. The first voyage had been exploratory. The second was to be one of actual fishing, the vessel to remain out as long as the captain deemed it advisable. Their experiences were described in the San Diego *Union* of July 16, 1889, upon the return of the *Azalene*. Twelve barrels of fish were brought back, and were disposed of to San Diego grocerymen and fish merchants. According to the log, included in the *Union's* account:

> July 9, Tuesday. Early in the morning Captain Lovdal announced that the banks had been reached, and the lead was accordingly heaved overboard. It struck bottom at twenty-two fathoms and fifteen minutes later ten fathoms was reported, and down went the anchor. The excitement of the trip was now commenced, for as soon as a line was lowered to the bottom the hooks on it were immediately seized by the fish. At this depth rock cod and bass abounded, and were taken in as fast as the lines could be worked. After breakfast three boats were sent out, having on board Mr. McRae, Steward Weber and Captain Lovdal, who were busily engaged in hauling fish aboard. They were fortunate enough in catching the first and only jew fish caught this day which weighed between 250 and 300 pounds, which took the combined efforts of all three men to haul on board. Before noon they had more fish than they could take care of in one day, so after moving the vessel in deeper water — twenty-five fathoms — all hands set to work cleaning and salting. Caught enough rock cod and other, equally as good if not better, fish to supply every hotel in San Diego, including the great Hotel Del Coronado.

At 4 p.m. the following day, it became too rough to fish, so they weighed anchor, double-reefed the sails, and a "wild night was experienced, which was gallantly mastered by the Azalene, which every man on board voted to be one of the safest and best sea boats on the Pacific Ocean." By Thursday afternoon, fishing could be resumed and whitefish were caught in great quantities. On Friday afternoon (July 12), McRae was said to have landed over half a ton of fish; on Saturday, at nine fathoms, red cod were plentiful, and a little later that day "white cod predominated and were taken out as fast as the men could handle them." As all the barrels were full and a large quantity had been salted down in a dory, the captain ordered the return to San Diego, which they reached at 7:30 Sunday evening. A meeting of the directors of the Pacific Ocean Fish and Canning Co., said the *Union*, was scheduled for July 16. It was understood that the *Azalene* would not leave again for a week or ten days, but "the gentlemen who made the trip are elated over its successful issue and are of the opinion that the business at no distant day will develop into the most important industry in San Diego." The "gentlemen" were named by the *Union* as: Captain George Lovdal, in command; Fred Carter, mate and expert fisherman; a Mr. Gray, Omar Sheldon, William Seymour, and Joe Pendergast, sailors and fishermen; C. Becker, steward; and J. A. McRae, director and secretary of the company. Sunday, July 14, 1889 — the day the *Azalene* returned from her second voyage to the Cortez fishing banks — thus marks the launching of the first deep-sea fishing business in San Diego. Although the company failed, it was the precursor of the present-day great fishing industry in San Diego.

It was decided by the company to have the *Azalene* make several more voyages to the banks before determining on the cannery.[15] They even invited the ichthyologist, C. H. Eigenmann, to go along on one voyage, to pass on the probable availability of fish at the new banks, etc. Fred Carter, formerly the mate under my father, was in charge of the next few trips. No wages were to be paid the captain and the fishermen, but they were to have half the catch. It was thought that the remaining half would be almost clear profit to the company. Some of their equipment — viz., four pine tanks, with a capacity of fifty barrels, to be built on the deck of the schooner — furnished the *Union* of July 20, 1889, with a news item. It seems that McRae, the company's secretary, saw a man driving a wagon, loaded with barrels, down the street, and asked him, "Those my barrels?" He received an affirmative reply and was told that they were empties, intended for water barrels on the *Azalene*, and had been obtained at a saloon. Soberly they were being whisked down the street in the direction of the wharf. "A sigh was heard," said the account, "and a by-stander took a faded rose from his buttonhole and placed it to his nose."

In the two succeeding voyages of the *Azalene*, she brought back from 3000 to 12,000 pounds of fish,[16] bearing out the favorable report on the Cortez fishing banks made initially by Lt. Comm. Tanner and quoted earlier in this paper. Among his other valuable discoveries was that the ocean there abounded in genuine sardines,[17] which had not been found elsewhere on the coast. The sardine canning works at San Francisco had been handling anchovies, not the true sardine. During the first decade of the next century, A. P. Halfhill of the Los Angeles area presented his canned tuna to the public under the label "chicken of the sea."[18] And when the San Diego fishermen went in for a share of the business in a big way, it was to the Cortez and Tanner fishing banks that their tuna fleets sailed, since those were nearest.

For Captain Lovdal, however, after his second trip on the *Azalene*, the business of fishing was over. He accepted an offer to command the *Comet*, a coastal three-masted schooner of 429 tons, engaged in the lumber trade. The *Union* took note of the fact, with the remark that Captain Lovdal did not intend to leave San Diego for good; he had faith in the future of the city and hoped to live there always.[19] In 1891 he was engaged to sail the schooner *Pannonia*, owned by Crawford & Co., to the Marshall Islands with a general cargo.[20] The house in San Diego was rented to strangers, the family belongings were moved to San Francisco, and, on March sixth of that year, the *Pannonia*, with Captain Lovdal, his wife and three little girls aboard, sailed through the Golden Gate for Jaluit, the commercial center of the Marshalls. On the return journey, the vessel struck a coral reef on the tiny atoll of Ailuk.[21] For thirteen days they were stranded among the natives of Ailuk. They then shifted to the nearby island of Lekiep, were finally rescued by the *USS Iroquois*, and were brought back to San Francisco on the English Mail steamer, *Monowai.*

Captain Lovdal made subsequent voyages to the south seas on the Oceanic Steamship Co.'s vessel, the *Alameda*. After returning from one such trip, he contracted pneumonia and died on February 11, 1896.[22]

NOTES

1. William Ellsworth Smythe, *History of San Diego, 1542 . . .* (San Diego, 1907), *passim;* L. B. Lesley, "The Struggle of San Diego for a Southern Transcontinental Railroad Connection, 1854-1891" (Berkeley: Ph.D. Thesis, 1933), *passim.*

2. Federal Writers' Project, *San Diego, A California City* (San Diego: San Diego Hist. Soc., 1937), p. 16.

3. Theodore S. Van Dyke, *County of San Diego – the Italy of Southern California* (San Diego, 1886), p. 39. A. A. Bynon, "San Diego Illustrated . . . Continued through and Subsequent to the Boom," *Golden Era*, XXXVIII (1889), 361-63, 382-84.

4. Undated clipping, presumably from the *Astorian*, in Lovdal family papers.

5. San Diego *Union*, Nov. 14, 1888.

6. *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1888.

7. George Fox Mott, Jr., *San Diego Politically Speaking* (San Diego, 1932), p. 48.

8. U. S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, *Rept. of the Commissioner, July 1, 1888–June 30, 1889* (Washington, 1892), Serial No. 2806, pp. 451-53; chart facing p. 512.

9. San Diego *Union and Daily Bee*, May 17, 1889.

10. *Idem.*

11. *Idem.* The company's purposes were set forth as follows: "To purchase, build, own, sell, mortgage and operate steam and sail vessels, to engage in the general business

of fishing, also canning, curing and marketing of the same, also the dealing in and manufacturing of ice, and the use of the same for all purposes, including the use and supply of cold storage for all purposes. The purchase, improvement, ownership, leasing, selling, mortgaging and conveying by deed or otherwise of real estate, the purchase, manufacture, use and sale of all articles, machinery and apparatus appertaining to the foregoing business."

12. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1889.

13. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1889.

14. *Idem.*

15. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1889.

16. *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1889.

17. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1889.

18. John Springer and Seymour Francis, "Los Angeles-Long Beach Developed by the Fishing Industry . . .," *Pan-American Fisherman* (Combined with the Magazine *Tuna Fisherman*), III (Dec. 1948), p. 32.

19. San Diego *Union*, July 31, 1889.

20. The two-masted *Pannonia* was built at Coos Bay, Oregon, in 1875. She was 206.08 gross tons, 195.80 net tons; 106 ft. x 30 ft. x 108 ft.; she had one deck. (Lovdal family papers.)

21. Captain Lovdal's original log (*ibid.*).

22. San Francisco *Call*, Feb. 13, 1896. Interment was in Cypress Lawn Cemetery.

Note on J. P. Leonard, M. D., Gold-Rush Visitor

By Robert T. Legge, M.D.

THE purpose of this article is to add certain biographical facts to the account of the medical observations of J. P. Leonard, a Rhode Island physician, while he was on a visit to California in 1849. Leonard's observations (edited by the present writer for the September 1950 number of this QUARTERLY) were derived from two of his letters, appearing originally in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* of August 22 and December 19, 1849.

John Preston Leonard was born at Ashford, Connecticut, August 22, 1819, the son of George and Rebecca Converse Leonard, and a descendant of Solomon Leonard, who came to America around 1630. J. P. Leonard married Emily Williams Ballou, and of this union two great-grandchildren are still living — Mrs. Angelina M. Glenn and Mrs. Helen M. DeJong, the latter of whom is librarian of the Rhode Island Medical Society. Through her researches and those of Dr. Peter P. Chase, editor of the *Rhode Island Medical Journal*, I was able to secure the following data from the records of the Rhode Island Medical Society; namely, that "At a meeting of the Board of Censors, held at the State House at Providence, R. I., June 26, 1844, John P. Leonard presented his credentials, and having been duly examined, it was voted that he be recommended for the fellowship." His membership in the Rhode Island Medical Society predated his medical degrees, so he must have begun his practice after serving a medical apprenticeship. In all probability his preceptor was his father-in-law, Asa Williams Ballou, a practitioner of Greenville, R. I.

Two years later (1846), Leonard received his M.D. degree from the Berkshire Medical Institution; and, after another two years, an M.D. degree from the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Columbia University) of New York. He then practiced medicine at Greenville and Lime Rock, R. I.

Mrs. DeJong regrets that she was unable to offer anything in the way of purely personal interest in connection with Dr. Leonard, except that she possesses two books from his library — his set of Shakespeare and his Cheselden's *Anatomy of the Human Body* (first published in 1713). She also has a pair of cuff links, which were made from some gold nuggets he had brought east from California.

A month before he died, Dr. Leonard located at Middletown, Connecticut, to enter into partnership with Dr. W. B. Casey, editor of the Middletown *News and Advertiser.* His death in July 1851 was the result of being exposed to typhus fever while examining emigrants aboard a boat that docked at Boston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Anna Holt, librarian of Harvard University Medical School, in a letter to my friend, Lieut. H. C. Grillo, M.C.U.S.N. (now in service in the Far East), supplied the following data after searching through the files of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal:* In 1848, while Dr. Leonard was practicing at Lime Rock, R. I., he published a report on a case of "Cyanosis or Blue Skin," and later another on "Epidemic Influence." The following year, 1849, while he was on his way to California, the same journal published an article by him on "Medical Matters at Panama," which was followed by the two letters, one from San Francisco and one from Sacramento, reprinted in part, as mentioned above, in the September 1950 *California Historical Society Quarterly.* While practicing his profession in 1850 at Greenville, R. I., he published an article on "Varieties of Diarrhea," and another on "Quackery and Abortion."

On reading his California letters, one cannot but be impressed with his culture, his knowledge of Latin, and his keen observations and interpretations while searching for the causes of disease. He had a scientific mind and was an investigator, learned and well prepared in his professional knowledge; in addition, he was a scholar and a writer. The breadth of his ability was recognized when Dr. Casey invited him to become his partner at Middletown, Connecticut.

Dr. J. P. Leonard was allotted only seven years of practice, of which four were spent in graduate work and one (1849) in California. How much he crammed into those years can be seen from his not hesitating to go aboard that pest-ridden ship in Boston Harbor in 1851. He went aboard to investigate and to make his donation to medical advancement, for it was not then known that the dreaded, fatal disease of typhus was carried by the bite of the body louse.

California Soldiers in the Philippines

From the Correspondence of Howard Middleton, 1898-1899

Edited by HAROLD F. TAGGART

(Concluded)

Cuartel de Malate, Jany. 28/99

Today we returned from a 48 hour outpost at Singalong Church in province of Singalong. This time I was stationed at the Church or rather in an old large Spanish house just opposite the Church of this district. The house in which we slept must have been at one time a very fine residence, but at present is riddled with bullet holes and over-run with rats as large as cats. Everything is built on a large scale and clearly shows that it was owned by Spaniards with "mucho dinero" (money).

We had a crazy sergeant and the Lieut. with us was equal, so had a very hard time of it. The insurgent soldiers invited some of our fellows over to dine with them but they declined. The lines in some places are not more than 10 ft. apart and we often have long conversations with them. They have, if one is to believe what they say, no desire to fight us and I believe them for they are pretty well frightened already. They are in a bad way, for if we attack them and drive them back as we undoubtedly would, they would have another enemy to contend with. These are the savages in the interior who use blow guns with poisoned darts. We will never have any trouble with these people unless we make it ourselves....

They are getting stricter every day here and its becoming harder to soldier especially as we are so short of officers that we seldom have Lieut. Field when we do picket duty. This makes it pretty bad, for there are some officers who are very mean and small. Lieut. Field kicked a big fellow, named Pat Mulloy, to a finish because he treated some of our fellows rankly. He is an officer having risen from the ranks not very long ago, is "shanty-Irish." . . .

Feby 3, 1899 [same letter]

Have just returned from outpost at same place as last time. At 10:30 PM was sent to reinforce a post, the nearest of any to the insurgents, as there was a general calling out of troops last night. This post is not 10 ft from the sentry posted by "*our friends*" the Insurgents and only separated by a small stream about 4 to 8 ft. deep. Their sentry is in a tree on other side of bank so I posted ours under a banana tree on our side and ordered him to put 6 shells in his piece, on my own responsibility. In order to reach this post you have to leave the main road and branch out on a trail to the right. This trail is not wide enough for two men to go abreast for on the right is dense underbrush and bamboos, on the left is a ditch 4 ft. deep and thick with ooze.

The other night a 4th Cavalry fellow fell in and did not regain his gun until the next day. The night was very black and before I reached my post I had been up to my knees in black mud. This path has to be patroled every hour and I tell you it is no fun. It all passed off quietly however and was caused by an armed body of Insurgents trying to enter the City to bring back 50 or 75 drunken Insurgents. This, of course, could not be allowed and as they insisted, hence the trouble....

My Darling Mother. Manila, 2/12/99

Recd your cable, am sorry you thought it necessary to wire. I received a very slight flesh wound in the hip but that was not what laid me out. I also received a heavy blow from the butt of a rifle while mounting the first insurgent trench. This caught me in a very delicate spot and laid me out for some time. I managed to reach temporary aid however and again started on with A Co. but only got a little way then dropped.[4]

They sent M Co. (75 men) and 24 I Co. men to charge and that the strongest position the insurgents held. In that 100 men there were 9 killed outright, 2 of I and 7 of M, while 2 more of I's will probably die. Gens Anderson and Ovenshine complimented us highly. Lieut. Field as luck would have it did not lead us but we had a fine young fellow Lieut. Miles. Field said he was proud to belong to I Co.

The space we charged was only 90 ft wide and lined on both sides with bamboo trees. After we had advanced to within 100 yards of their trenches they opened fire from all sides. As it turned out they had sharp-shooters in all those trees and the cross-fire was what told on us. Miles saw we were in a hole and said, "Men, there is only one thing to do, I Co. forward double time, March." We gave a rousing cheer which was taken up by M Co. and fixing bayonets made a rush. The yell was what told, for the niggers left their first trench and ran to their second. It was here, just as we were going up the first breast works, that I was retired but will be out in a day or two ... [on reverse side of letter is a small diagram of action].

Cuartel de M. Feby 14/99

Well as you know we have had the long expected fight with the Filipinos and have vanquished them although we lost some good men.

As usual I Co. was on outpost Saturday and that night as I was posting my relief we heard the first, a long way over to our left, at the Nebraska's camp. The fire kept getting nearer until there was firing all along the line except just in front of where we lay. As you will see, everytime I Co. has been on outpost or rather every time there has been a call to arms we have been on outpost. The whole trouble started by a Nebraska sentry killing two native guards, who tried to take his post and make him fall back. This was done every night and our men had orders to fall back, but that night he was told to shoot to kill and he did, killing 2 of their guards. Then the sentries gave the alarm and the Filipinos opened fire on us. The Americans replied very little during the night and this gave the Filipinos the impression that we did not care to scrap them. As soon as dawn broke the Americans were lined up and the Filipinos thought we were going back to town and they shouted at us. The Spaniards always contented themselves with holding them out or not advancing. We showed them a different way to scrap and about 5:30 or 6 AM Sunday morning the order was given to charge the trenches. We could hear our fellows way over to our left cheer as they ran in the charge.

The Artillery ripped them wide open, blasting scores at every shot. As we lay behind our little trench that morning the big shells from the Monadnock *screamed* over our heads in a most terrifying manner and made us glad that she was on our side. We could see the 10 in. shells as they went over us. It was fine marksmanship, for they had to go over thousands of our men and miscalculation of 50 or 100 yds meant death to many of our too small force.

The order came from Gen. Ovenshine, in fact he came himself just as we (21 men in all) started to advance double-time. In a low tone of voice he gave us the order and silently we obeyed. We first fired 10 volleys and only got a small return fire. Not another shot was fired until we were within 200 ft of the trenches, then they opened a hot fire from all sides on us. With one accord we threw ourselves on our stomachs in the mud, fired one volley and then advanced double-time. As he gave the order we all took our hats off and gave a good old American cheer running all the time. Any man who says he was not frightened is a liar or a fool. I did not realize that bullets could come so thick and why we were not all shot is a wonder to me. One began after a bit to think of all the wrong things he had done and of those at home. I made up mind I would never do wrong again.

My gun got stuck, two shells jammed and I had to jump in a mud hole on the left under the trees. As I soon found out there were a couple of sharpshooters just above me in the tree and pretty hot they made it too. Almost the first shot took my hat off, and then they came thick and fast. They must have been miserable shots or I would never have gotten out of there. However I did and ran and joined Co. Just as I was climbing the breastworks one of our men fell and in trying to regain his feet swung his gun and caught me in a delicate spot. As I fell back I hit on my own gun. I was "hors d'combat" for some time. As I lay there a mauser just caught, went in about an inch but as they are small you could hardly find the place. By that time we had taken the trenches with M Co. It was in this charge that Lieut. Mitchell was shot in the stomach and 2 of our 21 men killed outright and 6 M Co. men killed with many wounded. Gen. Ovenshine and Anderson complimented us very highly and said that no men could do more. The 14th has a fine reputation here now and Field said he was proud to be a member of Co. I. Of the men you know there were only two with us, the others were some distance away. Center and Avery were the ones, they fought like H--l . . . dropping them one by one and laughing all the time. I only have one to my credit, a fellow I dropped out of a high tree.[5]

We set fire to every shack we came to and soon had the sky black with smoke. This was done by orders. Everything now bears the glorious "milk white flag," you can see natives with a game cock under one arm and a white flag over his shoulder. I must now close as mail leaves in 15 min. Am feeling fine, wound is alright, a little stiff. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, P. I.

My darling Mother. 3/4/99

Just a few lines to let you know that I am still well and am now with Co. At present the Co. is doing guard duty in quarters but expect to leave for trenches this P. M. I had quite a siege in the Hospital in all about 4 weeks but am feeling fine now. I am glad to say that during that time the Reg. had no fighting so I did not [miss] anything. . . . I will send back by the Senator two statues of native "milkman and Milk woman." These are very life-like and very good. They were made in Iloilo and given to me by friend "Jose." I will also send a watch-fob taken from a dead soldier by me, while I lay in the trenches waiting to be taken to Hospital. . . .

I must close now as my relief goes on soon. Our Reg. is stationed at Pasay, a small town some distance from Manila, 6 or 7 miles.[6] . . .

My darling Mother. Pasay, Luzon, P. I. 3/8/99

We are now some distance from Manila in a small town called Pasay. The American trenches run by here and it is in these that we do duty every other night. Today and tonight we sleep in trenches, while F Co. will have 24 hrs off, sleeping in old convent. As I Co. is on outpost there will surely be a call to arms. The first night we were here Insurgents set fire to some shacks 700 yds in front of the trenches I was in. This was done to find out our outposts so they could fire on them. They did fire a few shots but our men did not reply so they could not locate us. This is terrible country to fight in as the underbrush is almost impenetrable and wells and swamps are everywhere, while the trees and native shacks are filled with sharpshooters.

Last night an M Co. man accidently shot himself in the foot. As he was on outpost the Corporal from the trenches came running up to find the cause of the shot. He saw a dark form in the timber and of course took a shot at it. It turned out that he had shot and killed one of his own men.

In Trenches, Feby 12, 1899 [March]

Have just been told that our troops will move in morning so we will have our breakfast at 4 AM. As this is our day in trenches, suppose we will be left behind to hold trenches. This is really more dangerous than being on the firing line, as the niggers shoot so high that they stand more chance of hitting us than those they aim at.

Feby 13-1899 [March]

As I said the bullets are whistling over our heads but do no damage. Heavy firing is going on up by the lake from river gunboats. Part of our Co. is stretched along the road from firing line to trenches to watch for sharp shooters of whom there are many. It has rained all night and we are wet, sleepy, tired and muddy. Reports say great number of niggers killed while trying to cross lake by gunboats and 5 Americans wounded. It is going to take a long time to capture Paranaque, the town we are making for, as it is full of niggers.[7]

Feby 15, 1899 [March]

Another M Co. man shot himself last night. Am feeling first rate considering the campaigning we are doing, as well as any of the fellows. You must excuse the briefness of my letters but have a good deal of duty to do now. There is heavy firing on our left and we are ordered into the trenches so will close. . . . Expect to advance on Paranaque in a few days and expect a hard fight.

My Dear Father. Pasay, Mar 18-1899

. . . I did not join my Co. for some time after I thought I would, but as we have had no fighting since the 5th I have missed nothing. We are now strongly entrenched 2 or 3 miles from Paranaque, an Insurgent stronghold, but which could be blown to pieces by our ships. I think however that the plan is to close in around the town and starve them out. Gen. Lawton says we have lost enough American lives already so will not charge. If that is the case it will be a month or two anyway before we get into the town.

The 1st Cal. Reg. is the laughing stock of the whole island on account of the S. F. papers. The real facts of the case were that one Co. was held in reserve for the 14th but was never used and that in another Co. the Lieut. only got his men out of the trenches at the point of his pistol. 100 Engineers took a position that 900 1st Cal. were driven from. They have not a friend on the Island and I am most thankful that I am not in such a talkative and boastful organization. They have sent 1 Battalion where they can waste no more powder, to Negros, a place where the natives raised our flag of their own free will.

The Oregon arrived last night. All is talk of getting out, for this thing will last some time yet and the bad season is coming on and all want to get away.

My darling Mother. Pasay, Mar 19, 1899

At present it looks as though we would stay here for some time, for now our Co. stays a week at a time in trenches and then goes to an old convent in Pasay for a week. This is getting very dull and disagreeable as it has rained hard every night for a week and the trenches are nothing but mud. With the exception of a covering made of banana leaves we have no shelter and our blood is so thin that we are getting very cold by morning although the Ther. says it is 70%.

It is rather discouraging to be in the Reg. that lost the most men in the shortest space of time and then have a Vol. Reg. that really did nothing but show the "yellow streak" get all the credit. Yesterday one more of the boys in this Co. died of his wounds. He was a fine plucky little fellow and came from Concord, Cal. Of the 21 men of I Co. that charged up what the Spaniards call "Bloody Lane" with M Co., 3 have died of wounds and 6 more wounded. 1 of the last will likely die.

So you see it must have been a pretty warm fight, for M Co. lost 6 men and 1 Lieut. killed and large number wounded. Lieut. Mitchell just to the right of me and I saw him fall and say, "Never mind me, men, go on." The other part of the Co. did not have a man wounded but had several narrow escapes. The paper had all our 14 Reg. wounded under the heading 1st Wash.

There is not a man with but 3 exceptions but that would take his discharge and if you think you can get mine why please do it for me. Have had enough of this Guerrilla warfare. The people in the states do not realize the sort of country we are in, one cannot see 10 ft ahead. If we had had troops enough here when it first started, to keep after them, it would all have been over now for we had them on the run. As it is, they have had time to strongly entrench themselves, and the same job as we had that Sunday will have to be done over again only in a worse country and in the worst time of year. We are all pretty much disgusted with the procrastinations shown by our Govt. and many are the votes the Rep. party will lose.

This village of Pasay was a stronghold of Insurgents up to the time we charged their trenches, a mile or so in front. It is only a small place of a few huts, a church and this old convent. At present Chinamen are almost the only ones here. Most of the natives skipped on our approach.

My Dear Edna. Pineda, Mar. 23, 99

We are still in trench but will go into Pasay Sunday for a week's rest. This trench business is very tiresome as we have to sleep with our belts on and you bet they weigh something. Then every 3rd night my turn comes to go and sleep with outpost about 300 yds in front of trenches. This is not hard for the Corp. for he does not have to keep awake, but it is pretty hard to get much sleep when you hear the outpost 100 yds on your left firing and a

Mauser or so answering them, then the same thing happens on the right. This goes on intermittently all night and you are always expecting yours is the next one they will take a pop at. Then the dogs, all night these keep up a most awful noise, for, being left behind when the natives fled, they are now almost starved.

We all have our pictures taken in the trenches for the book Hicks Judd and Co. is getting up, "Campaigning in the Philippines." Everything looks now as if 2 months would see us on our way home. The 1st Sgt. in compliance with a Gen. Order took names of those who intended to re-enlist. Three of our Co. will do so.

It is the general opinion here that the Vol. will be held for two years as they signed for "2 yrs. or war," while we signed for the "war with Spain." The first Cal. is the butt of the whole island for as you will see by papers I am sending, they must have been a pretty big Reg. Santa Mesa is at least 8 miles from Singalong or where we were. It is true that there was *one* Co. of them about a mile behind us that refused to leave their trenches. Not a Reg. here does anything but hiss their name and make fools of them. They are now where they can do no harm and can only impress the natives with their greatness. But this is a poor way to speak of the men who saved our lives. . . .

My Darling Mother Pasay, Apr 1 — 1899

We are still in quarters here resting this week as we go in trenches again next week. This life is something awful and there is not a man here who would not welcome his discharge, for now the wet season will be here in a very short time and it is not conducive to health or spirits to lie in trenches with 2 ft of water in them. Neither will it be pleasant to "bushwhack" through such a country as there is in front of us, and over which we will have to drive Insurgents before we can take Paranaque. The whole country is full of swamps and the niggers have had time to build fine trenches. I am afraid it is going to be a hard fight but they may be demoralized when they hear that Mololos has fallen.[8] In the taking of Mololos a good many fellows lost their lives and a great number wounded. . . .

I think our last fight will be taking Paranaque which will I am afraid be rather a stiff fight. I received notice of Reg. package but have not been able to get it, yet, as we are not allowed in town at all — for our lines are not any too strong here and they need every man.

My darling Mother. In Trenches, Pasay, 4/5/99

Am just in from sleeping with squad on outpost, i. e. 300 yds in front of trenches at edge of bamboo jungle. Although the Corp. has no watch to keep, one cannot sleep well with firing going on only short distance on either side of him. All night long the niggers at a distance of 300 or 400 yds. from the outposts open fire and with intervals this is kept up all night. They are such poor shots that the bullets whistle 10 ft over our heads or way to the side. We never reply unless we can clearly see the man. A scouting party goes out every morning and evening and is just as regularly fired on by "amigos" in white clothes.

While I am writing this a native is practicing on his cornet. The tune is "Home Sweet Home," which reminds me that while on outpost the other night an empty shack fell in about 25 ft. in front and some distance to the right of us. It had hardly struck the ground before M Co.'s sentries had sent 2 volleys into it. It was dark as Egypt and dreadfully still. I was sitting up and smoking and thinking of the time when I could smoke my pipe in my room, and just as the picture was brightest "it happened." Needless to say the train of my thoughts was interrupted for time being and all haste made for our little breastworks, for the outpost is supposed to hold out as long as possible so as to give the men time to get in the trenches. Nothing more happened, however, so suppose it was the wind.

Apr. 6, 1899

Have just got orders to be ready to move at a moment's notice. Probably to the lake "Laguna de Bay" near San Pedro Macati. Do not know for a certainty yet. . . .

My darling Mother. Manila, Apr. 13 – 1899

We left Pasay Saturday and marched some 1500 strong to San Pedro Macati, distance 5 miles. Each man had 200 rounds of ammunition, a poncho roll, canteen, haversack, 2 days rations and rifle. The 2 days rations consisted of 2 cans of Corned Beef, 1 can of Beans, hard tack and ground coffee for 3 men. Now all this weighs and in a climate like this it is hot and tiresome work. At S. Pedro Macati we embarked on "casas" or large barges which were towed by tugs. We were so crowded in the casas that there was just room to sit up and we had no sleep that night. It was 6 P. M. when we embarked. All that night and all Sunday until 4 P. M. we were in those ill-smelling barges. You must know that whole families are born and live in either end of these, so you can imagine how pleasant it was for us to sit there all night and day with nothing but a *little* cold corned beef to eat.

We embarked some distance down the Pasig river below the lake. This trip under other circumstances would be a most beautiful one as the river banks are heavily wooded with bamboos and the lake is nearly 50 miles long, and surrounded by fine country. By "beautiful country" I mean to *look* at, but to fight in there is no such thing as a worse place.

The underbrush is so thick that you cannot see 3 ft ahead and in places it is impenetrable, then again there are swamps in which you sink to your waist. Well we at last arrived before Santa Cruz or so they told us for we could see nothing but some fishing villages. These the 3 gunboats, "Laguna de Bay," "Oeste," and "Napindan" bombarded. They are small side-wheelers the Govt has armed and protected with steel plates. Receiving no reply the troops proceeded to land. We had to jump off the casas into the lake up to our waists and wade ashore.

When all was ready the advance began and a fine sight it must have been to those on the boats to see 2 lines of men, one in front and other in reserve, nearly a mile long go over the open field in skirmish order. For the first ½ mile all was well but suddenly we came to an immense swamp. It was a terrible place and nearly a mile wide. I as luck would have it struck a particularly bad place and went in nearly to my arm pits. Some of the boys pulled me out a couple of times but as the line was advancing had to leave me. I struggled as hard as I could but was getting weaker as I had not been well before starting. The reserves pulled me out when they came along, but by that time my own Co. was too far ahead to catch up with, so Lieut. of D Co. told me to stay with them. Not a shot had been fired up to this time but now, as the advance arrived at the edge of the jungle, a hot fire was opened on them. The reserves then "double timed" as best they could and soon all were in it. We then charged the trenches with a yell and of course the niggers fled. After driving them from the trenches we halted for the night. As we went over the trenches a wounded native made a cut at one of our fellows with a "bolo" and nearly severed his arm from his body. He is now a "good" nigger. There were 12 dead in the field we camped in that night and not an American had been hit with a bullet. We had to *sleep* all night in those wet muddy clothes. We did not sleep but lay there and nearly shivered our heads off. I could hardly walk or breathe in the morning. The town was taken next day Monday with but 2 killed and 4 or 5 wounded on our side. The slaughter of the natives was awful, you could not go 50 ft. in some places without seeing some.

That afternoon the Dr. sent 4 of my Co. to Hosp. Fred Poett was one. I have Neuralgia in my side and am stiff with Rheumatism but will be all right soon. Am only sorry that I had to leave Reg. Wish it was all over, I am tired of this life. Am going to ask General Anderson's son, who is a friend of mine and who is Inspector Gen. of Post Office, regarding position if I get my discharge. This will give me about $100 Am. a month, and in meantime can try and work an agency or two as business is getting brisk here....

My darling Mother Manila, 4/23/99

...Reg. has returned from lake and are now on line near Pasay where they were before. I am laid up with Rheumatism of joints brought on by that boat trip as I already had some in my system. Hope to be all right soon though. Nothing to worry over as it is very common here.

Col. of Nebraska was just brought in dead, also some men; more fighting is being done near Mololos. Niggers are very thick out there. Im afraid the "rainy season" is about to set in as it has rained every night for several days....

My dear Father. May 4, 1899

By time this reaches you I hope to be a civilian once more. The order is now in office of Reg. for our discharge, and Lieut. Savage says we will be discharged as soon after May 1st as possible. The Reg. is still on South line but have only had a very little fighting to do and that from behind trenches as the niggers attacked them. They found 11 dead next morning while none of our boys were wounded.

I am still laid up with rheumatism of joints. It feels a bit better lately but cannot walk yet. Hope it is well before boys are discharged for they will not discharge me here but send me to Hosp. in S. F. until well. Once out of this climate it would soon leave me. However it is nothing to worry over as there are many here with the same thing.

Avery has passed and is assigned to 14th. Field is 1st. Lieut. now, also very *un*popular for he is so lazy and seems to care little for his men in the field. Never repeat outside what I have written re Army, for one or two are in trouble over [?] business as it is.... Think most of the fighting is over as their strongest position has been taken, "Calumpit," where they have wonderful entrenchments. A Reg. of Americans could have held off an army behind these.

My Darling Mother. May 20, 1899

You will be surprised to know that I have resigned my Corp. stripes. This was only right for I have not done duty with the Co. for over a month and it will probably be some time before I do any again. Other fellows have to act in my place and do the work without the extra pay and as duty is pretty hard now even though there is no fighting and not likely to be any more. I think it the right thing to do. If one did not do so, the fellows would make remarks and it would end in my being replaced by Lieut. as this is the custom in all Regiments. I am just as glad to be rid of it, anyway, as it is a very thankless job....

If Mr. Peyton finds me here I will be very glad to see him, but now is a poor time for him to start anything like a reading-room, for the troops are so scattered and so few in town.... You mistook me in regard to the watch chain sent. It was taken from Philippino soldier, not an American. Fred Poett is going to be sent home to Hosp. in S. F. for treatment for his appendicitis but will return when discharged. Our Co. has only 40 men for duty now, others much smaller.... Center was in yesterday and says he is getting sick of it, as there is nothing doing but guard duty....

My darling Mother [last letter] June 11/99

Have put off writing because expected I would be *home* as soon as a letter could reach you, but as Oregons go tomorrow I will write this.

Dr. Williams has been here and so has Will Smith. Glad to hear you are all well. . . . I am still in Hosp. as Rheumatism has taken quite a hold on me. Reg. had orders to put in for discharges last week. They are having their last fight, now, and here I am in Hosp. Had one man wounded in my Co. Will not be long now until I see you all again. In haste, Love to all,

Lovingly
Howard

NOTES

4. Karl Irving Faust and Peter MacQueen, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, 1899), p. 129, describes the incidents of the night of Feb. 4. Four armed Insurgents attempted to pass the line near Block House No. 6; private Grayson, of a Nebraska regiment, fired upon them. The fighting became general, moving around the line from north to south. Singalong church was inland a short distance from the barracks of Co. I; close by were Block House No. 13 and No. 14. Middleton sketched on a piece of wrapping paper a "map of Singalong fight."

5. *Ibid.*, p. 138, describes the attack on Block House No. 14 by men of the 14th Infantry; it notes that Captain Mitchell was mortally wounded.

6. Pasay is about two miles south of Malate on the shore of the bay.

7. Paranaque is about four miles south of Pasay.

8. Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars* (New York, 1911), Chap. III, traces the campaign to capture Aguinaldo's headquarters.

9. Faust and MacQueen, *op. cit.*, Chap. X, give detailed story of "Lawton's Lake Expedition"; p. 202 mentions the bolo incident and names William Sowers, Co. D, as the victim.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

(March-May, 1952)

Active

Name	Address	Proposed by
Robert Newton Bloch	San Francisco	Paul A. Bissinger
Thomas L. Brisch	La Grange, Ill.	Membership Committee
Bullock & Jones Co.	San Francisco	J. R. Dalziel
Thomas A. Chandler	Altadena	Daniel G. Grant, Jr.
Stuart G. Cross	Stanford	Honor Award – Stanford University
Matthew P. Dillingham	San Francisco	Aubrey Neasham
Duke University Library	Durham, N. Carolina	Membership Committee
Mrs. James L. Flood	San Francisco	Mrs. William Sproul
William A. Gannon, M.D.	Altadena	Membership Committee
Mrs. W. Edwin Gledhill	Santa Barbara	Aubrey Drury
Robert Pusey Hastings	Los Angeles	Resuming membership
R. Renton Hind	Mill Valley	Warren R. Howell
Harry P. Jones	Brawley	Lawton R. Kennedy
Alfred Knight	Phoenix, Arizona	Transfer of membership of Vernon Knight
E. R. LeRoy	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Andrew J. Lynch	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
Walter J. Mann	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Marian Louise Mel	Berkeley	Mrs. H. B. McFarland
Edith M. Meyers, M.D.	Alameda	J. R. Sharpsteen, M.D.
Monterey Peninsula College	Monterey	Membership Committee
Miss Litti Paulding	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
San Diego State College	San Diego	Membership Committee
Santa Barbara College Library, University of California	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Charles Scribner's Sons	New York City	Membership Committee
Sierra County Historical Society	Downieville	Membership Committee
Miss Gertrude Sinsheimer	San Luis Obispo	Transfer of membership of L. E. Sinsheimer
Howard D. Smith	San Francisco	James K. Moffitt
Allan Sproul	New York City	Membership Committee
Mrs. Roscoe Stanley	Eureka	Resuming membership
A. Dal Thomson	San Francisco	Ralph H. Cross
Washington Township Historical Society	Niles	Mrs. J. C. Shinn
Capt. Frederic F. Wessel	Santa Barbara	Membership Committee
Mrs. John West	San Francisco	Peter Cook, Jr.
The Rev. Norman C. Whittemore	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Mrs. Emma E. Wilcox	Hat Creek	Ralph H. Cross
Miss Francisca Peralta Wilson	Piedmont	Mrs. Rogers Parratt

In Memorium

C. O. G. Miller

In his eighty-seventh year, Christian Otto Gerberding Miller, usually known as C. O. G. Miller, died on April 23, 1952, in San Francisco, the place of his birth (October 1, 1865). His father, Albert Miller, banker and leading citizen of the East Bay, and his mother, Mary A. (Kendall) Miller, were both of pioneer California families.

C. O. G. Miller was educated at the University of California. He began his business career in 1883 as cashier of the San Francisco branch of the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia. With other members of his family, he organized the Pacific Lighting Corporation, of which he was president from 1898 to 1940, and chairman of the board from 1940 until the time of his death. This is the corporation which held control of a large portion of the gas and electric companies in and around Los Angeles, including the former Los Angeles Gas & Electric Corporation, the Southern Counties Gas Company, and the Southern California Gas Company. At his death, he was also a director and member of the executive committee of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company.

Miller was deeply interested in the California Historical Society, having been one of those who participated, with Templeton Crocker, John S. Drum, H. R. Wagner, E. S. Heller and others, in its re-organization in 1922. He served as its president for several terms. Although Miller knew how to be stern and unyielding, if necessary, in business affairs, he was one of the most kindly and generous of men in San Francisco, and was noted for his constant willingness to assist in organizations devoted to the public interest, such as the Community Chest and the California Historical Society. If, at the end of the year, unforeseen expenses caused a deficit in the funds of the Society, he was always ready to assist in meeting it. Membership on the board of trustees of Stanford University enabled him, for many years, to demonstrate another side of his sympathies.

If anyone had asked Miller for an opinion on the attainment of success, there can be no doubt as to the ingredient he would have emphasized and on which he, himself, had patterned his life. This can be seen from the obituaries he wrote for the California Historical Society QUARTERLY, upon the deaths of two of his business associates: in the September 1932 number (p. 296), he called attention to Walter B. Cline's "fine sense of the duties of an executive officer, which, combined with a great love of work, made wonderful results." And, on page 184 of the June 1933 QUARTERLY, Miller said of George Tourny that he was "a shining example of the distance a man can go who combines capacity with honesty and a willingness to work."

C. O. G. Miller was married first to Miss E. Havemeyer Tucker, who died March 28, 1896, and second to Miss Janet McAlpin Watt, to whom he was married on April 21, 1898. The latter survives him, as do three children, five grandchildren, and eight great-grandchildren.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

THOMAS WAYNE NORRIS

For many years a patron member of this Society and long one of its loyal supporters, Thomas W. Norris passed away suddenly on May 15, 1952. Born in Sonoma on January 12, 1878, he later lived at Salinas. Later still, the family home was in Livermore during his presidency, for over a quarter of a century, of the Coast Manufacturing and Supply Company, makers of fuses for a broad range of explosive uses. Since retirement from that position, he and Mrs. Norris, who survives him, had made their home at Carmel, where he was interested in numerous civic and historical activities.

It was probably as an avid and discriminating collector of Californiana that Mr. Norris was best known. For a number of years his Christmas greeting was a Grabhorn reproduction of some noteworthy manuscript from his collection, and when his books were disposed of, shortly after his retirement from active business, the extensive catalogue (Oakland: Holmes Bookstore, 1948) was likewise an impressive product of the Grabhorn Press. The many manuscripts in his collection he did not dispose of, but kept them at hand for easy reference by himself and by other students of the west. When he addressed a luncheon-meeting of the California Historical Society in November 1945, and again in September 1949, on "The California Constitutional Convention of 1849," the topic was one to which his collection of manuscripts contributed unusual details—for instance, items from some letters written by a convention delegate, James McHall Jones, to his mother in the east.

Tom Norris was prominent in Masonic organizations, both in Livermore and in Oakland. His genial nature will be remembered by them and also by his associates in the Yerba Buena (or "Redivivus") Chapter—of which he was a charter member and an early Noble Grand Humbug—of the "Ancient and Honorable Order of E Clampus Vitus." He was an honorary member of Queen of the Cow Counties (or "Platrix") Chapter of the Order, and at initiations delivered the solemn "Words of Admonition and Edification" with much gusto. During pilgrimages to the old-time diggings, Norris was always among the Clampers assembled at the Hall of Comparative Ovations. Underlying this fun-making, was his hearty, generous spirit, which will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

CARL I. WHEAT

WEBSTER KENNETH NOLAN

Webster K. Nolan, a native of San Francisco and one of that city's most able journalists, passed away in his sleep at the family home, 2560 Washington Street, March 12, 1952.

Born fifty-two years ago, he was the son of Margaret and the late William H. Nolan, San Francisco merchant of note and brother of P. F. Nolan (president of the early-day firm of Nolan Brothers Shoe Company).

An alumnus of the University of San Francisco, Webster K. Nolan served for several years as lecturer in journalism at his Alma Mater. He also attended Hastings College of the Law, University of California, San Francisco.

Mr. Nolan's newspaper career started with the San Francisco *Examiner* in 1917 and led to his assignment at the White House, Washington, D. C., where he was International News Service correspondent during President Warren G. Harding's administration (1921-23). He later occupied an executive position with the Hearst "King Features Syndicate."

In the military service of his country, Nolan had held commissions as a lieutenant in the navy and as major in the army, and was on active duty during World War II.

Besides his mother, he leaves a daughter, Nancy, and two sons, David and Webster K. Nolan, Jr., as well as a brother, Hamilton Nolan, who resides in Chicago. Webster K. Nolan was a member of the American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West, the Press Club, and the White House Correspondents' Association.

At the memorial services were many of his fellow-members in the California Historical Society. His remains rest at Holy Cross Cemetery, San Mateo County.

A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.

LEWIS ANKENY MCARTHUR

On November 8, 1951, Lewis A. McArthur,* a heroic member of this Society, died in Portland, Oregon, in his late sixties. In spite of an affliction — Paget's disease of the bone — which, for the past two years, had rendered him incapable of walking without aid; and in spite of deafness and only "one working eye" (as he called it, in a letter to us of February 15, 1949), he was planning a third edition of his *Oregon Geographic Names* (Portland, 1928; 1944).

In reviewing the first edition of this contribution to Oregon's history, Francis P. Farquhar commented on the evidences one finds of the author's broad experience as a civil engineer, which gave him an understanding of the problems of geographic sites and their perpetuation, or their abandonment; Farquhar spoke also of McArthur's "well-directed erudition." (This QUARTERLY, September 1928, pp. 286-87.)

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*Mr. McArthur was born at The Dalles, Ore., April 27, 1883. He served as a director of the Oregon Historical Society 1924-51, and as president 1937-46.

Lewis A. McArthur was the grandson of William P. McArthur, U. S. navy officer, who charted the Oregon coast for the coast survey in 1849-50, and whose work the younger man described in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* of September 1915.

When, in 1949, the Board of Directors made Lewis A. McArthur an honorary member of the California Historical Society, the action was accompanied by "expressions of high regard and friendship"; and his colleagues and many friends will rejoice that, because of the new edition of his *Oregon Geographic Names* which Mrs. McArthur informs us she is bringing to completion, the supply will not be allowed to disappear, and they can still study and admire its pages when their own copies have become worn — a memorial act that rewards each repetition.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Flodden W. Heron
Douglas Stuart Loud
C. O. G. Miller
Thomas Wayne Norris
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Thomas L. Phillips
Willard Brown Thorp
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 31, 1952

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1951 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1951

Assets

Cash –		
Commercial account	$ 2,530.21	
Savings account	4,172.49	
Office revolving fund	20.00	$ 6,722.70
U. S. Savings bonds, G		1,200.00
Accounts receivable –		
General fund	$ 23.42	
Publication fund	514.79	538.21
Inventory of publications		3,293.90
Prepaid insurance		141.32
Total assets*		$11,896.13

*Library collections and furniture and fixtures are not valued on the books.

Liabilities

Accounts payable –		
General fund	$ 16.26	
Publication fund	882.14	$ 898.40
State tax payable –		
State	$ 25.89	
City	.72	26.61
Dues collected in advance		712.08
		$ 1,637.09

Funds

General fund	$ 1,380.27	
Publication fund	6,264.34	
Library fund	1,414.43	
Cavalier Memorial fund	1,200.00	10,259.04
Total liabilities and funds		$11,896.13

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1951

RECEIPTS

Dues –		
Active members	$13,445.00	
Sustaining members	4,215.00	
Patron members	3,400.00	
Entrance fees	600.00	$21,660.00

Contributions —		
General	$ 372.15	
Special purposes	47.61	419.76
Sales of QUARTERLY		506.65
Sales of prints		284.59
Miscellaneous sales		95.60
Interest on savings account		59.19
Miscellaneous revenue		7.15
Total receipts		$23,032.94
EXPENDITURES		
Operating expenses —		
Salaries	$11,176.63	
Rent	2,400.00	
Telephone	179.81	
Office supplies	227.54	
Postage and express	68.15	
Furniture and equipment	—	
Insurance	123.07	
Library expenses	103.94	
Bad debts	2.56	
Miscellaneous	62.93	$14,344.63
Membership and publicity		428.03
Exhibit expenses		—
Luncheon expenses		187.08
QUARTERLY publication costs		6,978.65
Notes publication costs		928.57
Cost of print sales		231.13
Total expenditures		$23,098.09
Excess of receipts over expenditures		$ (65.15)
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,445.42
Fund balance at end of year		$ 1,380.27

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1951

Sales of publications		$ 903.36
Less Cost of sales —		
Beginning inventory	$ 3,180.25	
Purchases	755.60	
	$ 3,935.85	
Less Ending inventory	3,293.90	641.95
Gross profit from sales		$ 261.41
Less Selling expense		178.34
Net profit from sales		$ 83.07
Interest on savings account		30.05
Net gain to fund		$ 113.12
Fund balance at beginning of year		6,151.22
Fund balance at end of year		$ 6,264.34

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1951

Receipts

Sales of duplicate books	$ 185.00	
Contributions	204.31	
Interest on savings account	12.00	
Total receipts		$ 401.31
Less Expenditures –		
Purchases		1,319.62
Net increase (decrease) in fund		$ (918.31)
Fund balance at beginning of year		2,332.74
Fund balance at end of year		$ 1,414.43

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1 to June 1, 1952

Because of the increased number of gifts received by the Society's library and museum, it is now practicable to describe in detail but a few of the more significant collections or individual items presented to the Society:

John W. Allyne Collection

Illustrating the business activities of the early San Francisco firm of Allyne and White ("successors to Stanford Brothers"), is a small collection of letters and more than 250 billheads, 1858-74, presented by the Misses Edith and Lucy Allyne, daughters of John W. Allyne. Included are photographs of Allyne, and the San Francisco buildings occupied by Allyne and White; C. C. Burr & Co.; A. Di Nola, Druggist; E. G. Lyons Co.; and Chauncey R. Winslow's Boston Rubber Shoe Company. In addition, the gift contained printed materials among which are A. L. Stone's *A Sermon Preached in the First Congregational Church . . . on the Sabbath Morning After the Great Earthquake of October 21st, 1868.* (San Francisco, 1868); two issues of the Warren, R. I., *Northern Star,* 1850 and 1851, containing articles on California; and a bound volume 1, 1888-89, of *The Journal "Industry,"* San Francisco.

Gilson Newspaper and Periodical Collection

Among the passengers on the *Duchess of Clarence,* which docked in San Francisco in 1848, were the John and Barbara (Forbes) Burke family. Alfred Imlay Burke (1838-1894), the eldest of the children, became a pioneer San Francisco and Nevada journalist, and he and his sister, Mrs. Emma (Burke) Gilson, soon began preserving files of such publications as came their way during the years from 1854 to 1890. This entire collection of some 2,900 issues has been presented to the Society by Mrs. Gilson's grandsons, Donald F., and William P. Gilson.

Represented in large number are the well-known San Francisco dailies, the *Bulletin, Call, Chronicle, Examiner, Post, Report, Alta California, Herald;* and the weekly *News-letter, San Franciscan,* and *Argonaut.* Among the rarer publications may be found, in smaller number, examples of the San Francisco *Police Gazette, Democratic Press, Independent Defender, Spectator, Thistleton's Illustrated Giant, Varieties; a Chronicle of Life in California;* the Sacramento *Phoenix* and *Ubiquitous;* and the Virginia City *Bulletin.*

Harry M. Gorham Collection

Presented in memory of Mr. Gorham by his son, Hal W. Gorham of Santa Barbara, is a collection of Nevadiana essentially illustrating early Virginia City and the career of Mr. Gorham's uncle, U. S. Senator John P. Jones. Sixty photographs depict the region of the Comstock Lode, while *Down Memory Trail,* an album of photographs issued by John J. "Count" Mahoney, contains many photographs of early Virginia City residents and further illustrates the history of the area. Appearing among a small group of newspapers, 1876-94, are issues of the Gold Hill *News;* and the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise, Chronicle,* and *Footlight.* Authors, whose works are represented in the collection, include Harry M. Gorham, William Wright, Chester W. Cheel, and Wells Drury. Virginia City election tickets and other illustrative materials, 1876-97, reflect the career of Senator Jones.

Rulofson Family Collection

Mr. Rodney Morgan Rulofson of Cordelia has supplemented Rulofson family materials presented in 1951 by his cousin, Dr. A. C. Rulofson. The new gift is in the form of

24 photographs of family members and several letters from the famous photographer, William H. Rulofson, and his second wife, Mary Anne (Morgan) Rulofson. In addition are photographs illustrating northern California and a scrapbook, mainly containing clippings from early California newspapers, used by Myron H. Reid, editor of the Angels Camp *Mountain Echo.*

Oliver Nason Sanford Picture Collection

As San Diego city engineer, Mr. Sanford was particularly interested in the physical appearance of San Diego. A collection of 73 views photographed by Sanford in and around San Diego in the latter 1880's has been presented by his daughter, Miss Helen Sanford.

Anthony Zellerbach Papers

From Mrs. H. H. Zellerbach, the Society has received a collection of some 75 letters written by Marks Zellerbach to his brother, Anthony, pioneer San Francisco industrialist. Covering the years 1863 to 1867, there is a fund of information on Moore's Flat and San Francisco banking and Nevada County water companies. The frequent mention in the correspondence of such names as Tevis, Latham, Parrott, Reis, and others is a gauge to the historical importance of the papers.

Materials of great interest have also been contributed by many friends in many places:

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- Sausalito
  - George Wilkins
- Sonora
  - Mrs. R. A. Newport
- Tustin
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Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

Baker, Nina (Brown). Cyclone in Calico; the Story of Mary Ann Bickerdyke. Boston, Little, Brown, 1952. 278 p. $4.50.

Bean, Walton. Boss Ruef's San Francisco; the Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. xii, 345 p. illus., plates. $5.00.

Bolton, Ivy May. Father Junipero Serra . . . N. Y., Messner [1952] 160 p. illus. [Apply to publisher]

California. Department of Natural Resources. Division of Mines. Fabricas; a Collection of Pictures and Statements on the Mineral Materials Used in Building in California Prior to 1850. Assembled by Elisabeth L. Egenhoff . . . [Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1952] 189 p. illus., maps, plans. $1.00.

Cleland, Robert Glass. The Irvine Ranch of Orange County, 1810-1950. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1952. vii, 163 p. illus. $3.50.

Cooke, P. St. George. The Conquest of New Mexico and California; an Historical & Personal Narrative . . . Oakland, Biobooks, 1952. x, 165 p. illus., map. $15.00.

Coy, Owen Cochran. A Guide to California History. Dubuque, W. C. Brown Co., c1951. viii, 87 *l.* illus., maps. [Apply to publisher]

Crites, Arthur S. Pioneer Days in Kern County. Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie, 1951. 279 p. illus. $4.50.

Figueroa, Jose. The Manifesto to the Mexican Republic . . . Oakland, Biobooks, 1952. 3 p.*l.*, 103 p. $7.50.

Fletcher, Ed. Memoirs of Ed Fletcher. [San Diego, Pioneer Printers, c1952] xv, 751 p. illus., ports. [Privately printed]

Greer, James Kimmins. Colonel Jack Hays: Texas Frontier Leader and California Builder . . . N. Y., Dutton, 1952. 9-428 p. Maps, ports. $6.00.

Hays, Alice N., Comp. David Starr Jordon: a Bibliography of His Writings, 1871-1931; With a Personal Appreciation by Robert E. Swain . . . (Stanford University Publication. Univ. Series. Library Studies, v. 1) Stanford University, 1952. 195 p. $4.00.

Hoover, Herbert Clark. Memoirs: the Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933. N. Y., Macmillan, 1952. xii, 405 p. plates. $5.00.

Korns, J. Roderick, Ed. West From Fort Bridger, the Pioneering of the Overland Trails Across Utah, 1846-1850; Original Diaries and Journals. (Utah Historical Quarterly, v. 19) Salt Lake City, Utah State Historical Society, 1951. xx, 297 p. illus., maps. $4.50.

Mitchell, Lelia Ayer. California: From the Plains of the Pioneers to the Summit of Achievement. Oakland, The Author [638 Santa Ray Ave.], 1951. 87 p. $3.00.

Moore, Ernest Carroll. I Helped Make a University. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1952. v, 175 p. $3.00.

Parsons, John E. Henry Deringer's Pocket Pistol. N. Y., Morrow, 1952. 255 p. illus. $5.00.

Polk, James Knox. Polk; the Diary of a President, 1845-1849, Covering the Mexican War, the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Conquest of California and the Southwest, edited by Allan Nevins. London, N. Y., Longmans, Green, 1952. xxxiv, 412 [1] p. $6.00.

Robinson, William Wilcox. The Story of Tulare County and Visalia, 1852-1952. Los

Angeles, Title Insurance and Trust Company, c1952. 35 p. illus., map. [Apply to publisher]

RYDELL, RAYMOND A. Cape Horn to the Pacific; the Rise and Decline of an Ocean Highway. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. ix, 213 p. $4.00.

TAYLOR, RINALDO RINALDINI. Seeing the Elephant; Letters. Edited by John Walton Caughey. Los Angeles, Anderson & Ritchie, 1951. xv, 107 p. illus. $7.50.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Clement W. Meighan (Univ. Calif.; A.B., 1949) is archaeologist of the University of California Archaeological Survey, of which Robert F. Heizer (Univ. Calif.; Ph.D., 1941), associate professor of anthropology and a contributor to this QUARTERLY for many years, is director. Meighan was a member of the University's expedition to British Honduras during the summer of 1950. He is now working on his Ph.D. thesis – a world-wide study of figurine cults. Mrs. Kamer Aga-Oglu, of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, is a specialist on ancient blue-and-white china, and is engaged in a detailed study of 120 porcelain objects from Drake's Bay. References to her work, cited in note 1 of her paper, show the geographical breadth of her researches.

Readers of the QUARTERLY will remember Miss Virginia Thickens' (Univ. Calif., A.B. and M.A.) article, "Pioneer Agricultural Colonies of Fresno County," which appeared in the issues of March and June 1946. For the last three years, she and Miss Margaret Mollins have been research assistants to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton. Before joining him on the Berkeley campus, they had been teaching history (Miss Thickens, also Spanish) in the Sonoma Valley Union High School. Miss Mollins holds an A.B. degree from Mills College and an M.A., under Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, from the University of California. Her thesis was a study of the Mackenzie River Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada.

For A. P. Nasatir's labors among the archives of France, *see* the notes following this installment of his translation of Lombard's correspondence. Dr. Nasatir is chairman of the department of history at the San Diego State College. He has been awarded a Huntington Library fellowship which will enable him, this summer, to work over the consular material, "of tremendous quantity," he tells us, "and importance," microfilmed last year when he was in Paris.

W. N. Davis, Jr., took his Ph.D. degree from the University of California in 1942. For the next four years he served in the U. S. army. In 1946-47, he was with the University of Missouri, and, since then, he has been assistant professor of history at the University of California. Professor Davis is making a study of sutlery (literally, *to sully; do menial work*) – the provisioning of parties en route to the west coast, his research being based on the life story of Judge William A. Carter, trader at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, 1857-1881.

Mrs. Sidney K. (Myrtle Lovdal) Rosenthal, daughter of Capt. and Mrs. George Christopher Lovdal, graduated (with Phi Beta Kappa honors) from the University of California in 1915. Before her marriage to Dr. Rosenthal, x-ray specialist of Berkeley, she taught languages in Arroyo Grande Union High School, and she has been continuing her studious habits in spite of children and grandchildren.

A biographical note on Robert T. Legge, M.D., may be found on page 381 of the December 1946 QUARTERLY. Another of his studies on early-day scientists, H. H. Behr, M.D., pharmaceutical botanist, etc., is scheduled to appear shortly in this magazine.

Among Our New Members:

Mrs. W. Edwin (Andriette B.) Gledhill is gathering information on Andrew Belcher Gray, first U. S. surveyor along the Mexican boundary, and will be grateful for material bearing on Gray's life.

Alfred Knight, a native of San Francisco, is the son of William Henry Knight (*see* account of his life by Mrs. Bertha (Knight) Power; privately printed, 1932), for whose convenience, as editor of *Handbook of the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: The Bancroft Co., 1862), H. H. Bancroft assembled all the books on the west that were then available. From this editor's-reach bookshelf in San Francisco, came, with stop-over privileges on Valencia Street and a short ferryboat ride, the world-famous Bancroft Library in Berkeley.

Mrs. Harry M. (Emma E.) Wilcox's father and mother, DeForest Wells Spaulding and Letitia Jane (Joiner) Spaulding, came to Fall River Valley, Shasta County, in 1872, where four girls (Mrs. Wilcox is the youngest) were born to them. Some years after Mr. Spaulding's death in 1885, Mrs. Spaulding married John Felch; she died in 1936. Mrs. Wilcox's husband (whom she married on December 12, 1900), was born on February 4, 1878, on the old Wilcox Ranch on Hat Creek, and died there January 15, 1930, leaving a family of six children. His father was Charles W. Wilcox, who came to California in 1852. He was said to have been a charter member of the I.O.O.F. lodge at Sutter Creek. Mrs. Wilcox, the Society's new member, and her youngest son, Harry II, have continued to live on the ranch. "I have lived in the country all my life," she writes us. "I had quite a good education, considering the times. There was not even a single High School in Shasta Co., but we had nine grades in the elementary schools, which were almost equivalent to a four year high school course." Through the years, Mrs. Wilcox has contributed items to the Fall River *Tidings* (later called *The Logger Tidings*).

Miss Francisca Peralta Wilson is a daughter of Mrs. Josefa Peralta Wilson and great-granddaughter of Ignacio Peralta. In the Society's Notes for March 1952 (p. 2), mention was made of her mother's gift of portraits, of certain members of her noted family, to the California Historical Society's picture gallery. Miss Wilson, who is with the Naval Supply Center, Oakland, is, herself, carrying on the family reputation for service to the state.

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H. H. Haight on National Politics, May 1861

Transcribed, with Introduction and Commentary,

By A. Russell Buchanan

INTRODUCTION—Although distant from the eastern states, California, newly acquired from Mexico, stood in a peculiar position in relation to the approaching Civil War in the United States. Prior to 1850, the equilibrium in the Senate was intact, as the free and the slave states were evenly divided. Consequently, politicians in Washington had been stalling on the matter of an organized government for California, for fear that a national debate on the question of the extension of slavery would thereby be precipitated. It was precipitated, anyway, by the Californians themselves; they drafted a constitution on their own initiative and sought admission as a free state.

The result of the crisis was the Compromise of 1850, which balanced the admission of California, without slavery, by additional legislation favorable to the South. In 1854, however, California contributed indirectly to the reopening of the question of the extension of slavery. A group of middle-western politicians and businessmen wished to link their cities with the rapidly-growing west coast. They hoped to secure governmental aid for the building of the transcontinental railroad, but they realized that such a subsidy would consist, to a large extent, of grants of land. To convert the land into cash, sales would have to be made to settlers. An obstacle to such a plan was the fact that the proposed route went across the unorganized territory of Nebraska. The advocates of the railroad realized that settlers would be reluctant to buy land in a region peopled by hostile Indians and unprotected by regular government. To offset this difficulty, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and other Congressmen sponsored the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. This move precipitated once again the great debate on the extension of slavery, as both Kansas and Nebraska lay in a region that had been declared free in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. To win Southern support, the bill introduced the idea of popular sovereignty; it provided that the prohibitive portion of the Missouri Compromise be repealed, and that the voters of Kansas and Nebraska could decide for themselves the question of slavery. Douglas and his colleagues anticipated that the balance would be maintained by the establishment of a free Nebraska territory and a slave Kansas territory.

This expectation did not materialize. Nebraska became free, but a bitter struggle developed in Kansas. The Democratic party split on the issue, and a new party, the Republican, arose in protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which had been pushed through Congress by its sponsors.

On a minor scale, California mirrored the growing cleavage in national politics. California politicians had received their training in eastern states and retained the sentiments of the sections they had left. When Senator Douglas denounced the course of events in Kansas and declared that popular sovereignty had not been given a fair trial, California politicians who sympathized with the Illinois senator's views came to be known as Douglas Democrats. When the pro-Southern Lecompton constitution was introduced in Lecompton, Kansas, Democrats in California who approved it were designated as Lecompton Democrats, and their opponents in the Democratic party were called Anti-Lecomptonites. Pro-Southern Democrats in California came to be known also as Chivalry Democrats.

The other great national party of the 1840's, the Whig, was given a death blow by the Compromise of 1850. Southern and Northern Whigs came to a parting of the ways, and the party began to disintegrate. In California, the Whig Party died shortly after transplanting, and, as in the east, the Know Nothing and then the Republican Party sought to take its place. A *minority* group prior to the war, the Republicans quickly rose to ascendancy in time of conflict, and dominated both national and California governments while the war was in progress.

Since political backgrounds and alignments were similar to those in the older states, it is no wonder that west-coast residents watched with concern the events of 1860 and early 1861. The isolation of California gave rise to feelings of impotence on the part of some who saw the nation headed toward probable war. One such individual was Henry Huntley Haight. A native of New York, Haight was the son of a prominent attorney, Fletcher M. Haight. On his graduation from Yale University, Henry Haight began the practice of law with his father, who had moved to St. Louis, Missouri. The younger man moved on, in 1850, to San Francisco. Arriving as a Whig he gravitated into the Republican Party. By the end of 1860, however, Haight became dissatisfied with this party, and, before the end of the Civil War, became a Democrat. Rising rapidly in the organization, he campaigned successfully as the Democratic candidate for governor in 1867. He was not re-elected and retired to private life. In 1878 he was chosen as a delegate to the California constitutional convention but died before the sessions commenced.

In May 1861, Haight wrote a letter to a friend in St. Louis, probably his brother-in-law, George R. Bissell. It represents an attempt by an intelligent contemporary, writing from the distant vantage point of California, to analyze the political developments that had led to the critical situation in national affairs.

(This letter is reproduced by permission from a copy in the Haight Papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)

LETTER OF HENRY H. HAIGHT TO EASTERN CORRESPONDENT

San Francisco
May 3d, 1861

Dear George – [R. Bissell?]

We feel as though we have some reason to complain of the good people at home for neglecting at this time to keep us advised of matters in St. Louis & especially of the health & welfare of the family. We are especially anxious now for frequent advices because we apprehend every pony will bring news of a conflict in St. Louis the end of which no one can predict. I have seated myself to write you a letter on politics. I would that I could forget the existence of the subject – that I could forget that I am an American, & could be deaf and blind to all the sickening disclosures which the ensuing two or three years will probably reveal – this however is impossible. – My object in writing is partly to digest & reduce to paper my own reflections, as I presume it will not be long before, in some shape, I shall be called upon to define my position before the public here. But for this perhaps I should not trouble you to read a long letter on this subject, especially considering that though in many things we will agree, in some points probably we will differ.

Party spirit has always been the bane of Republics – this is an ancient maxim of the truth of which the present crisis furnishes a deplorable evidence. It is common to hear each party charge the other with being the sole authors of the trouble, but the truth is the guilt is shared by both – I will frame my indictment first against the Democratic party, & then against the Republicans.

To pass by the Hartford Convention of 1812, the Missouri contest of 1820, the South Carolina nullification of '33[1] & other minor matters, I will start with the first step toward our present disruption in 1850, when the State of California with ample[2] population presented her constitution to Congress in due form & asked to be admitted into the Union. No conceivable reason existed why she should not be instantly admitted, except that in framing her constitution she had chosen to exclude slavery.[3] You recollect however that many of the Southern politicians threatened to dissolve the Union if she was admitted & finally her admission, which was a matter of simple right, was purchased by a bribe of $10,000,000 to Texas,[4] & a new & more stringent fugitive slave law containing provisions which were needlessly offensive to northern people. This resistance to the admission of California was the first lamentable error. It came near causing the secession of South Carolina, Mississippi & some other states.[5]

The Compromise measures so called however restored peace to the country. We all supposed the subject of slavery was disposed of so far as Congress was concerned. The Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise came in its order from the democratic party, and plunged the country again into a sectional contest. The administration of Mr. Pierce & Mr. Bu-

[Haight's Letter, *continued*]

chanan aided by the democratic party attempted to force slavery into Kansas against the will of the people,[6] and then undertook to force upon them a constitution to which seven eighths of the people were opposed.[7] This unfortunate effort brought into existence the Republican party in 1855.[8] Then came the campaign of 1860 in which Mr. [William L.] Yancey & his followers broke up the Democratic party by seceding from the Charleston convention,[9] thereby ensuring Lincoln's election. I regret exceedingly that I contributed to this latter result by my vote. If sincere regret is an atonement for a political error I have sufficiently atoned for this. I reasoned however thus. The Chicago platform does not necessarily imply any invasion of Southern rights – or any legislation in reference to slavery.[10] Lincoln is a Kentuckian born, said to be honest, capable & conservative. No other candidate has any chance of election by the people. If there is no election the result in the House of Representatives will in all probability be an explosion which will break up the government.[11] It is easy now to see the error, but tens of thousands reasoned as I did & voted accordingly. Many also here were influenced by the Pacific Railroad[12] & I presume the character & purposes of the Republican leaders were as imperfectly understood by others as they were by me. This however is a digression. To proceed with my indictment. The election resulted in the choice of Lincoln & of an absolute majority against him in both Houses of Congress.[13] The Supreme Court also was of the same complexion as Congress.[14] Any invasion of Southern rights therefore was impossible no matter what Mr. Lincoln's disposition might be. Notwithstanding this the South Carolina disunionists applied the torch to the temple & the conflagration commenced. Mr. Yancey in Alabama followed the example, & I think the seven seceding states had adopted ordinances of secession & appropriated most of the government property within their limits, before the adjournment of Congress.[15]

History may be searched in vain for an instance of greater folly than this secession, if the election of Lincoln was the cause, for the seceders had ample protection in the Supreme Court & in the clear majorit[y] of both Houses of Congress. No right had been invaded by Lincoln, & no invasion was possible.[16] Not only the secession itself but the manner of it, the mode of seizure of government property were in my judgment utterly indefensible.[17] Had the seven states sought in the Union a remedy for grievances, it is quite probable that with their votes a satisfactory adjustment might have been made. This concludes my indictment against the democratic party & the secessionists.

The Republican party however is equally guilty. When Congress assembled, the danger of disruption & civil war was obvious. Senator [J. J.] Crittenden & others pressed the Republicans to adopt some measures of conciliation which would calm the excitement of the Southern people & furnish

[Haight's Letter, *continued*]

conclusive proof of their willingness to give to southern rights any reasonable guaranty.[18] His efforts were treated by most of the Republican leaders with contempt or met with violent opposition — no compromise & no concession was their policy.[19] The efforts of the Union men in the cotton states & the Border States, the generous confidence of Kentucky & Tennessee,[20] the advances of Virginia the Peace Conference propositions,[21] all failed to awaken any generous impulse toward conciliation among the Republicans in Confiress, with a few honorable exceptions, among whom Mr. [James] Dixon of Connecticut & the Senators from Rhode Island were conspicuous. The whole controversy was an abstraction. Only twenty-four slaves in all the organized territories of the Union, & by reason of soil & climate its establishment in any of them utterly impossible, and yet the Republican leaders, for this abstraction, sacrificed the glory & well being of thirty one millions of people, shut their hearts to every generous impulse, & aided as far as in their power to hurry, their Country over the precipice of disunion into the gulf of anarchy & civil war.[22] Upon their heads will rest the responsibility of the slaughter of unnumbered thousands, the untold misery & the unspeakable humiliation which now seem inevitably before us. Their names will be covered with lasting infamy & their memories loaded with the execrations of posterity.

The error committed by Congress Mr. Lincoln still had it in his power to repair. The country awaited with anxious expectations a declaration from him of his policy. His lips were sealed until he left home on his way to Washington.[23] His sanguine countrymen still fondly hoped from him a recommendation of measures to avert the impending tempest. His speech at Indianapolis was a rude shock to public expectation,[24] but men were loth to relinquish hope still. His various efforts at other places, his avowed ignorance of the tariff question,[25] his sage remark that there was after all not much real excitement, & his original felicitation that no one had been hurt as yet, his reverence for the various planks in the Chicago platform, with other utterances created dismal forebodings.[26] His inaugural message did not dispel the doubts experienced as to his course.[27]

The Border states however were still firm against secession. Missouri had in her convention declared for the Union[28] & Virginia was also safe. Then the news of the intended evacuation of Fort Sumter sent a thrill of gratification through the hearts of men of all parties.[29] Unhappily for his reputation with posterity, & most unhappily for his Country, instead of treating the secession of seven states as a stupendous reality, incontrovertible inevitable, Mr. Lincoln with fatuity unparalleled, persisted in the insane attempt to hold with about seventy men without provisions a Fort of no practical value whatever to the Union, commanded on all sides by Forts & batteries, & inaccesible from the sea. He thereby furnished the secessionists the coveted

[Haight's Letter, *continued*]

opportunity of precipitating the border states into revolution with the Cotton states,[30] and has aided them so far as he could to destroy the Union & plunge a prosperous & happy people from the pinnacle of greatness into humiliation & miseries which no tongue can adequately express or imagination conceive. His call for 75,000 men follows. No man would hesitate to rush to the defense of the capital if it were threatened with attack but if the force were designed purely for defense the object should have been unequivocably declared. That this is the sole object I have no doubt for troops enlisted for only ninety days would be of no use for offensive operations but the number in the first place is unnecessarily large & the object of calling them not stated with sufficient certainty.[31] If the administration design to recapture Sumter & to force the seceding states to stay in the Union it is making an attempt from its nature wholly impracticable & which will result in discomfiture & disgrace.

I have not yet closed the record against the Republican leaders. To cap the climax of folly a tariff law is enacted of the most offensive & disgraceful character — a law suited only to the dark ages but abhorrent to the enlightened sentiment of the 19th century. Mr. Wade & Mr. Sumner[32] were leaders in the Republican ranks in this Congress. Mr. Sumner offers to the President volunteers from Massachusetts to suppress the rebellion in the South. He should have been more modest & waited for a request. The course of Massachusetts in the War of 1812 & the Hartford Convention should have suggested to him to be less forward. The resolution of the legislature of his state that the annexation of Texas absolved the State of Massachusetts from all allegiance to the Federal government ought also to have sealed his lips.[33]

In California at present the cry is to "sustain the administration." I will stand by my government in one sense as long as any one but I will never endorse a policy which I utterly detest. Henceforth I acknowledge no allegiance to any party. Wherever a good opportunity occurs for changing our form of government into something *stronger* than a democracy I may interest my self in favor of such a change.[34] That offers the only hope of stability & security.

The prospect before us is a dismal one unless Providence in some unforeseen way arrests this fratricidal war. The picture is too dark to dwell upon. What a fall for our country, from the pinnacle to the abyss. You have my opinions & views here on this whole subject. Had I time they would have been more fully expressed but the subject is too great to be compressed into a letter. We experience great solicitude on your account. I wish very much you were all out here out of harms way. Cant you come?

With much love to all from Anna & myself I am as ever

Yours affcty.
HENRY H. HAIGHT

[P.S.]

Since the above was written I have seen a copy of Lincoln's proclamation.[35] He avows his object to be the recapture of the forts and property in the seceded states and says little or nothing about the defense of the capital. I have not undertaken to mention the excuses made by the democratic party & secessionists on one side or the Republican leaders on the other for the line of policy pursued by each, for neither party presents any reason which to my mind has the least force. I observe also from the President's proclamation that no time is fixed for the service of these troops but I suppose the Secretary of War probably has specified ninety days — at least it is said so here.

COMMENTARY

1. Haight is referring to earlier incidents in which secessionist sentiment was expressed. He is incorrect in his date for the Hartford Convention which met in 1814, not 1812. Protests in New England against the conduct of the War of 1812 led to a call by the legislature of Massachusetts for a New England Convention. Actually the secessionist element in the convention was curbed, and moderate resolutions were passed. The Missouri contest in 1820 bore some resemblance to the California crisis in 1850. In 1820, as in 1850, there was an equal number of slave and free states. The request for the admission of Missouri as a slave state threatened this balance. Compromise was effected by admitting Maine as a free state at the same time that Missouri became a slave state. A compromise line of 36′ 30″ divided the remaining Louisiana Purchase into free and potentially-slave territory. It was this line that was later erased by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The third incident arose from Southern opposition to the Tariff of 1832. South Carolina put John C. Calhoun's theory of nullification into practice. Other Southern states were not willing to accompany South Carolina in a secession move over the tariff, and a compromise was reached. A compromise tariff law placated South Carolina, and a Force Bill asserted federal power. Both sides claimed the victory, but at least secession was averted.

2. No specific number of people is prescribed by the Constitution for admission of a region as a state. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 stated that the population should reach 60,000 before statehood should be granted. Possibly Haight had this figure in mind. According to official census, California's population in 1860 was 380,015.

3. Although there were former Southerners in the constitutional convention at Monterey, the framers of the constitution voted unanimously to exclude slavery. Article I, section 18, of Declaration of Rights, California Constitution of 1849; see also W. E. Ellison, *A Self-Governing Dominion: California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 30.

4. Haight's reference to a "bribe" was of course a matter of personal opinion. The main parts of the Compromise were passed as separate pieces

of legislation. The payment to Texas canceled that state's claims to a portion of New Mexico and at the same time paid her existing state debt. In Congress, opposition to this act came from both Northern and Southern extremists. J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York, 1893), I, 181.

5. The allusion is to a Southern Convention held at Nashville, Tennessee, June 1850. By this time, sentiment had quieted, and a convention that might have moved toward secession contented itself with resolutions. A second meeting was held in November 1850, but by this time only one state, South Carolina, still desired secession, and no break occurred. Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1930), VI, 79-81.

6. President Franklin Pierce appointed a territorial governor who supported Southern attempts to control the territory. Both Pierce and his successor President James Buchanan denounced the "irregular" free state government that had been set up in competition with the pro-slavery territorial government. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), I, 134.

7. Free Soilers in Kansas denounced the Lecompton Constitution as a trick and refused to vote when it was presented to the people. Voters were to vote on the constitution with or without slavery. The trick was that in either case persons with slaves already in Kansas were to be protected in their rights. R. F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), pp. 117-31.

8. The Republican Party started as a result of a middle-western protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and gained added support by opposition to the Lecompton Constitution. Channing, *op. cit.*, VI, 140; Nevins, *op. cit.*, I, 274-75.

9. The Democratic national convention in 1860 met in Charleston, South Carolina. The convention delegates decided to adopt a platform before nominating candidates. Unable to beat a strong Douglas bloc, the extreme Southerners "walked out" of the convention. Subsequently two Democratic conventions were held in Baltimore. The pro-union groups nominated Stephen A. Douglas for the presidency, and the extreme Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge. Nichols, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-322.

10. Although the Republican Party was opposed to the extension of slavery, it did not advocate abolishing slavery where it existed in the states. J. G. Randall states, "As to slavery in general, the platform did not characterize the institution as a moral wrong; in that sense the party did not go so far as in 1856. Rather, the resolutions pointed emphatically to state rights—'especially the right of each state to order . . . its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively.'" J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (New York, 1945), I, 171-72.

11. With four candidates in the field, there was a possibility that no candidate would secure a majority of the electoral votes. In addition to Lincoln, Breckenridge, and Douglas, Senator John Bell of Tennessee was running as the candidate of the Constitutional Union Party. Nevins states, "Even in the Lower South a feeling existed that, calamitous as the election of Lincoln would be, a ferocious contest in Congress, all the factions and sections clashing in embittered antagonism, might well prove more disastrous." Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 285.

12. The Republican Party had a plank in its platform advocating the construction of a transcontinental railroad, a project that naturally appealed to Californians. Such a bill had been blocked by the inability of Congressmen to agree upon a route. Randall, *op. cit.*, I, 173.

13. Although Lincoln won overwhelmingly in the Electoral College, he received a minority of the popular vote. *Ibid.*, I, 194; Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 312-13.

14. Judge Peter V. Daniel died May 30, 1860. The December 1860 term of the Court began before a successor had been selected. February 5, 1861, President Buchanan nominated Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, but the Senate by a vote of 25 to 26 rejected the nomination. Thus, when Lincoln became President, there were four pro-slavery and four anti-slavery members. The Court adjourned 10 days after Lincoln's inauguration, without a ninth member having been appointed. By the time the Court reconvened in December 1861, there were three vacancies. Justice Daniel had not been replaced, Judge John McLean had died, and Judge John A. Campbell had followed his state, Alabama, out of the union. Appointments to these vacancies were delayed by the war and by reorganization of the Court. Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (Boston, 1928), II, 358-76.

15. By a unanimous vote, South Carolina adopted an ordinance of secession December 20, 1860. In January 1861, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana passed ordinances of secession. Texas passed a similar ordinance on February 1, 1861. Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 415-17.

16. There were Southerners who urged that the South should not secede until an "overt" act had been committed. A great debate on the subject took place in Georgia, and the advocates of immediate secession won by a fairly narrow margin in the election of a secessionist convention. *Ibid.*, II, 415.

17. The states that seceded took over federal property in their region. Among the property seized were national forts, arsenals, customhouses, post offices, hospitals, the mint at New Orleans, and the navy yard at Pensacola. Three forts in Florida, and Fort Sumter in South Carolina, were retained for a time in federal hands. K. M. Stampp, *And the War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861* (Binghamton, N. Y., 1950), p. 86.

18. On December 18, 1860, the U. S. Senate voted to form a committee

to work for compromise. This committee was headed by Senator John J. Crittendon. The Kentuckian was the logical man for the post. He sat in the seat formerly occupied by the "Great Compromiser," Henry Clay, and, when war came, one of his sons was to fight for the North and another for the South. The committee included such important leaders as Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, Stephen A. Douglas, and Ben Wade. Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 390.

19. An important feature of the Crittendon Compromise presented to the Committee of Thirteen was the proposed extension of the old compromise line of 1820 west to the Pacific Coast. South of the line, 36′ 30″, slavery would be permissible if new states in the area desired it. The Republican vote in the committee defeated the compromise, for the extreme Southern members of the committee had stated that they would vote for the compromise if the Republicans supported it. It should be noted, however, that by the time the vote was taken, four Southern states had already committed themselves to secession.

20. For rather obvious reasons, compromise sentiment was strong in the border states. The region would bear much of the brunt of war if it came, and it was a section in which both unionist and pro-slavery sentiments were strong.

21. Virginia made a last attempt at compromise by calling together a convention, to which representatives of the other states were invited. It met on February 4, 1861. Thirteen states, including those that had seceded, failed to send delegates. After much internal wrangling, the body sent a set of resolutions to Congress. The proposals resembled the Crittendon Compromise and were rejected by Congress. *Ibid.*, II, 410-13.

22. The source of Haight's assertion that there were only twenty-four slaves in the territories is not known. Republicans probably would have denied the charge that the question was an "abstraction." Their fear was that if a compromise line should be drawn, Southerners would be led to attempt expansion in Mexico or Cuba. Lincoln wrote, December 17, 1860, that a line permitting the extension of slavery "would lose us everything we gain by the election; . . . filibustering for all south of us and making slave States of it would follow." Quoted in Randall, *op. cit.*, I, 236.

23. The period between Lincoln's election and his inauguration constitutes one of the most debatable of his entire career. Lincoln maintained public silence, in large part to avoid criticism by the radical abolitionists of his own party. Privately, he expressed views on compromise, and was flexible in most of his views except on the matter of the extension of slavery. *Ibid.*, I, 233-36. For a careful analysis of Lincoln's views while president-elect, see Stampp, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-203.

24. Lincoln made the Indianapolis address February 11, while on the way to Washington. The part to which Haight took exception probably was

Lincoln's statement that he would not consider as either coercion or invasion the retaking or holding of federal forts, or the collection of duties on foreign importations. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

25. The tariff plank had been included in the Republican platform, mainly at the insistence of Pennsylvania delegates. Lincoln would have preferred to have had no statement on the tariff in the platform. Nevins, *op. cit.*, II, 253-54.

26. Stampp writes that Republican leaders after the election of 1860 "had an experience that was almost unique in the annals of American politics." They were criticized for adhering to their party platform. Stampp, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-48.

27. In his inaugural address, Lincoln placed the secessionists on the defensive by stating, "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.' " James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1897), VI, 11.

28. In March, the Missouri convention had declared itself opposed to secession by a vote of 89 to 1. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, III, 393.

29. Major Robert Anderson had moved his men from Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor to an unfinished fort in the same harbor, Fort Sumter. In January 1861, a vessel, the *Star of the West*, was fired on as it attempted to carry provisions to Anderson and his men. Being unarmed, the steamer left without delivering the supplies to the fort. When Lincoln became President he decided that Sumter should be supplied with provisions. Southerners, hearing of the plan to relieve the fort, demanded its surrender. Anderson refused to yield peacefully, and April 12, 1861, a bombardment of the fort began. After holding out for forty hours, Major Anderson was forced to surrender. Haight blames Lincoln for his course of action. A later view suggests that Lincoln had already come to the belief that war would result, and began the Fort Sumter project "to relieve Lincoln from the responsibility for initiating hostilities." Stampp, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

30. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded after Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers. In general, the argument used was that, although Virginians and others did not believe in the right of secession, they did believe in the right of rebellion against coercion. To such people, Lincoln's call for volunteers was viewed as coercion. Randall, *op. cit.*, I, 358-59. On the other hand, Lincoln's action helped rally the support of the North behind the federal government. Stampp, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-90.

31. As shown by his postscript, Haight at first did not have an accurate knowledge of Lincoln's proclamation.

32. Senator Ben Wade of Ohio and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts.

33. G. P. Garrison stated that the resolutions of Massachusetts against the annexation of Texas sounded "with strong emphasis the note of nullification." G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension, 1841-1850* (New York, 1906), p. 96.

34. One wishes that Haight had described what he meant by "something *stronger* than a democracy." His later political career does not indicate that he favored a dictatorial form of government.

35. Lincoln's call for volunteers was dated April 15, 1861. Richardson, *op. cit.*, VI, 13-14.

New Light on the Original Bear Flag

By JOHN ADAM HUSSEY

FOREWORD – It is safe to say that no topic in California history has engendered so much controversy as has the Bear Flag Revolt. Even while the events were taking place during June and July 1846, people started quarreling about it: who was back of the movement, they wanted to know; were the participants American patriots or were they merely robbers and thieves? After more than a hundred years, people are still asking these questions.

Unfortunately for those who tried, later, to get at the truth, most of the contemporary writers on the subject had an ax to grind. Some of them set out to show that the captors of Sonoma were entitled to the undying gratitude of future generations; others, that the men of the Bear Flag, or the persons who suffered losses through their activities, were, or were not, entitled to compensation from the United States. And it was not long before the story of the revolt began to be clouded by politics. Such episodes as the Frémont-Kearny feud and the presidential campaign of 1856 produced a good deal of testimony regarding the Bear Flag movement, very little of which can be described as unprejudiced.

Then there were accounts written by persons who claimed that they, themselves, or certain friends or relatives, deserved chief credit for the movement or for some episode in it. And there were those who, while not always claiming credit for themselves, were doggedly determined that honor should not go to their enemies. Charge and counter-charge constitute a considerable bulk of the source material relating to the Bear Flag Revolt.

As the years went by, the effect of fading memory became greater, and accounts by participants became more and more divergent. And even after the last eyewitness had passed from this earth, so-called "authentic" accounts continued to pour forth, based on family tradition or the recollections of stories told by pioneers. Needless to say, scarcely any two of these narratives were in agreement.

The task of historians who attempted to distill the truth from the great mass of these conflicting source materials was made more difficult because many collections of public and private papers were long unavailable to them. They found it virtually impossible to discover which of the early accounts were reliable, which were false. "It is fearfully hard to tell the truth in these things," complained the eminent philosopher and historian, Josiah Royce, of Harvard, while working on this problem. "If California history were only philosophy!"[1]

As a result of this situation, few serious secondary historical studies of the settler revolt of 1846 agree as to details, and some of them are far apart on basic issues. The lack of agreement, disturbing to many historians, has been utterly baffling to general readers of California history. One student of the subject has summed up his experience as follows: "Faithfully have I perused the pages of four accepted authoritative historians and find it nothing less than perplexing to endeavor to reconcile their various contentions of supposed facts."[2]

Because of the discouragements faced by historians treating this topic, it is not too surprising to find, after three-quarters of a century, that the most useful history of the Bear Flag Revolt is still to be found in the fifth volume (published in 1886) of Hubert Howe Bancroft's monumental *History of California.* This is true despite the fact that, during the past three decades particularly, source materials such as the papers of John D. Sloat, Archibald H. Gillespie, William A. Leidesdorff, and Edward M. Kern — papers which throw light upon a host of hitherto obscure details — have been opened to the scrutiny of scholars.

The reason for the failure of historians to produce a really satisfactory account of the episode at Sonoma appears to boil down to the fact that, even with the wealth of source material now at hand, it has been impossible to bring forth conclusive answers to two fundamental questions: (1) what led John Charles Frémont to intervene in the smoldering dispute between the Mexican authorities and the foreign settlers in California, and to what extent was he responsible for the revolt? (2) what were the exact circumstances surrounding the making of the original Bear Flag — who made it, when was it made, of what was it made, and what did it look like? Until provable, and not merely plausible, answers to these questions can be produced, any attempt to write a definitive history of the Bear Flag Revolt can only be an elaborate form of guessing game.

In very recent years considerable progress has been made toward answering the first of these questions. While all points have not been demonstrated beyond dispute, the general pattern of Frémont's intervention in the settler movement, and the forces which motivated him, are becoming increasingly clear.[3]

It now appears that the second question, that having to do with the Bear Flag itself, is also about to be answered. A manuscript containing a contemporary drawing of the flag, and throwing light upon several matters which have been in debate for a century, has recently come to light and is soon to be published.[4] As a further contribution to the solution of this problem, a series of documents is presented below. Most of them are here printed for the first time.

A careful reading of these letters will show that they clarify a number of disputed points in regard to the Bear Flag — the materials of which it was made, the date upon which it was raised, and other matters. In the opinion of the present writer, however, these documents are primarily valuable because they contain information which permits the movements of the original Bear Flag to be traced, almost from the day it was hauled down from the staff in Sonoma until it was placed in the halls of the Society of California Pioneers in 1855. They demonstrate, beyond reasonable doubt, that the flag which was displayed by the Pioneers as the "original" Bear Flag until it was destroyed in the conflagration of 1906, and which served as the general model for the present State flag, was indeed the standard which flew over the Sonoma plaza during the Bear Flag Revolt.

That the identity of this flag was ever in doubt is eloquent testimony to the fact that a mistaken assertion or a falsehood, if stated often enough and loudly enough, will be believed by at least some people.

RESUMÉ OF EVENTS

On the evening of July 8, 1846, Commander John B. Montgomery, captain of the U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, which was then anchored off Yerba Buena, received word that hostilities had broken out between the United States and Mexico, and that Commodore John D. Sloat had raised the American flag at Monterey. Montgomery was instructed to take possession of the country about the Bay of San Francisco.

Early the next morning, the commander dispatched Lieut. Joseph W. Revere in the ship's fourth cutter to Sonoma, at that time in the possession of a group of settlers – mostly Americans, who a month earlier had rebelled against the Mexican authorities and established the self-styled "Republic of California." When Revere reached his destination, he found the symbol of the settler revolt, the Bear Flag, flying from a staff on the town plaza. Assembling the garrison and the local populace, he informed them of the changed status of international affairs and had the rebel banner lowered. In its place he hoisted the flag of the United States. Shortly after the Bear Flag came down, it was given as a souvenir to Commander Montgomery's son, John Elliott Montgomery, a lad of sixteen, who served as captain's clerk aboard the *Portsmouth*.[5]

The boy did not long enjoy possession of the precious relic. On the afternoon of November 13, 1846, he set out in the launch of the U. S. S. *Warren* for the Sacramento River. The boat was commanded by his elder brother, Acting-Master William Henry Montgomery, and carried, in addition to its crew, the sum of $846 with which to pay the garrison at Sutter's Fort. Neither boat nor crew was ever heard of again. The presumption was that the craft was upset and the men drowned, but there were many persons who believed that the crew mutinied, murdered the officers, and made off with the payroll. For years afterwards there were occasional rumors that members of the crew had been seen alive in various parts of the United States, but no solution to the mystery has ever been proved.[6]

With the disappearance of young John Montgomery, the Bear Flag passed into the possession of his father, who brought it back to the United States with him in 1848 and deposited it with other relics of the conquest of California in the Boston Navy Yard. As is recounted in the letters printed below, the flag eventually found its way to the Navy Department in Washington. In 1855 it was presented to the Society of California Pioneers and was returned to San Francisco.

Very shortly after receiving the flag, the Pioneers carried it in the 1855 Admission Day parade in San Francisco. As shown by newspaper accounts of the event, the true history and proper significance of the flag appear to have been generally understood at that time.[7] If this impression is correct, it was the last occasion for many years upon which any such unanimity of opinion can be recorded. Soon thereafter voices began to be raised in protest; this or that *other* banner was the real one.

In an attempt to settle the matter, John S. Hittell, historian of the Society of California Pioneers, made a study of the sources available to him and came forth with the decision that a flag, owned by the Society and showing the bear standing nearly upright, was the original standard.[8] When published in the newspapers early in 1878, this pronouncement only served to arouse a new storm of controversy. In self-defense the Pioneers were forced to look into the matter once more, and, in 1887, a committee officially announced that the standard showing the bear on all fours — the flag acquired from the Navy Department in 1855 — was the one and only "original" Bear Flag.[9]

Thereafter persons visiting the Society and asking to see the "real" standard were shown this flag, and thus the view that the banner, displaying the bear passant, was the true Bear Flag won general though not universal acceptance. By 1911 this view had achieved such predominance that there was not too much protest when the flag, with the walking bear, was chosen by the state legislature as the basis of the design for the official state flag.

Nevertheless, the old stories that the Pioneers were wrong, and that another standard was the "real" one, have refused to die. In 1942, for instance, a writer, learned in the sources of western history, published an account of the Bear Flag Revolution in which the animal on the settler ensign was described as "standing on its hind legs."[10] On the centenary of the Bear Flag raising, a descendant of a pioneer who had resided in Napa Valley in 1846 recorded family tradition to the effect that the original standard was made up of red and white stripes, with a blue star and a bear standing erect.[11]

The letters printed below would appear to provide adequate evidence for laying, once and for always, these divergent and disturbing fables. Perhaps research concerning the Bear Flag Revolt can now be directed to other phases of the problem.

From the history of the controversy, however, such a happy conclusion is scarcely to be expected. One is reminded of the fate of that worthy pioneer, William Baldridge, when he tilted his lance in the fray back in 1872. "Seeing the contradictory accounts of the history of the Bear Flag," he wrote for the *Napa Register*, "I have been astonished and even vexed that a thing so well known should be a matter of controversy."[12] Thinking that the misapprehensions should be corrected, and being, as he later recalled, "of a simple minded nature," he was "green enough" to publish a "true history" of the settler emblem, "being well assured in my own mind that everybody would take it for granted that it was strictly correct and hence the controversy would come to an end, but much to my astonishment and consternation about a dozen much better writers than myself appeared on the scene and proved that not only myself, but all other writers on the subject except themselves were notorious liars and that they alone had stated the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth on the subject."[13]

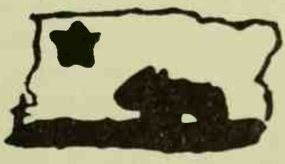
JOHN ELLIOTT MONTGOMERY TO MRS. MARY MONTGOMERY

[A. L. S.][14]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth Ancherage Yerba buena Cove
Bay of San Francisco Coast of California Oct. 20t. '46

My Dear Mother,

It is with great pleasure that I seize upon an opportunity to write you by the Ship Roman of New Bedford Capt Shockley which sails from this coast in a few days for New Bedford[15] but this letter may not reach you until June or July 1847, at which time father hopes the ship will be on her way home. I shall proceed to give you an account of the grand drama that has been acted in California since our anchoring in this Bay on the 1st[16] of June last, to wit: On the 14th of June a revolution broke out on the part of the Americans & other Foreign residents against the Californian government & a party of 34 men surprised & took the interior town & fortress of Sonoma making Genl. Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo & his brother Don Salvadore Vallejo & Col. Don Victor Prudon all distinguished Mexican army officers prisoners & hoisted a flag of their own manufacture of this fashion. A white field with a red border on the lower edge a Grizzly bear in the center with a star in the upper corner the whole composed of [a] piece of white cotton with a Stripe of red Flannel the white colloured with *black berry juice Brick Dust & oil* such was the first standard of liberty ever raised in California. After doing as above stated they chose a Commander Wm B. Ide by name & a Lieut. by the name of Ford & declared the country free & Independent of Mexico; Some days after this a party of 15 Americans under the command of Lieut Ford a relation of the Deacons[17] met a Company of Californians 75 in num-



Flag of the California Republic

ber & after a short battle the latter were routed with a loss of 8 [?][18] killed & 3 wounded while the Americans lost not a man now this is a problem to solve if 15 Americans will whip 75 Spaniards how many good Yankees would it take to whip all California can produce[,] about 6 or 700 say this was the first battle in which blood was spilt in California. Things went on quietly u[n]till the 7th of July when the Commodore John D. Sloat hoisted the Flag of the U. States in Monterey declaring that war actually existed between [the United States and Mexico;] on the 9th the news reached here & Father at the head of 100 men landed & took formal possession of this Bay hoisting our flag here father was appointed Military Commandant of the Northern Dept. of California compriseing an area of 1000 square miles & including five Military posts & his address from the country people is as follows he received a letter tonight petition[ing] for a grant of land directed thus "To His Excellency Jn°. B. Montgomery Esq^r. Comd^r. in Chief of the U. States Forces and Governor of theNorthern Department of California on Board the U. States Ship Portsmouth at San Francisco." Humph! Titles enough I wish some of them would bring money into his pocket the old Commodore was a short time after relieved by Commodore R. F. Stockton in the Congress the new Comd^r. drove the Mexican Government offic[ers][19] out of the Country & came up here but [had not][20] been here long when an insurrection below sent him back again & there he [still][21] is. My time & small room will not allow me to enter more into particulars. The Warren is expected daily to releive us we to go blockading on the Mexican Coast having lain here for 5 months. I am going to buy 2 square leagues of land here & am trying to pursuade father to leave me here to try my luck at farming for quill driving will never make me a fortune but more tomorrow it is 10 P. M. Nov^r. 8th [?][22] 1846. William[23] has just arrived in the Warren she is to releive us in this bay we have been here five months & more & I expect the next time I write it will be to give you an acct. of some battle we have been engaged in. The Cyane has had a battle & knocked down the town of Guaymas Dupont Commands her J Van Ness Phillips[24] Mid^n is aboard of her I have no more time at present I have just sealed a letter of 17 pages to Mary Mc.Kosky we are all well I never was healt[h]ier in my life everybody says I am growing fat Bill is in good health & has written Larry [?] sends love father is writing a long letter to you this is Julia's[25] birthday isnt she going to be married any thing but an old maid sister but adieu & believe me ever your affectionate son

J. E. MONTGOMERY C. C. U. S. N.

[Addressed] To Mrs. Mary Montgomery N°. 6 Washington Street
Charlestown Mass^{tts}. U. States of N. America
per ship Roman Capt. Shockly
[Endorsed] Bay of San Francisco Nov^r. 11th 1846 Sealed

ROBERT BAYLOR SEMPLE[26] TO COMMANDER JOHN B. MONTGOMERY

[A. L. S.][27]

Yerba Buena Nov. 25, 1846

Dear Sir.

It has been signified to the Committee,[28] that you are desirous of keeping the original Flag, first hoisted in the name of the "Republic of California," which is now in your possession for the purpose of depositing it in the National Institute of the United States.

Permit me, sir, on behalf of the Committee, to say that we are highly gratified with the kindness which you have manifested towards us, and your deportment as an officer and a gentleman has attracted our warm admiration, we take a pleasure in acceding to your wish, and here beg leave to say that we are glad to exchange it for the broad stripes and bright stars of our native land.

With the Greatest Respect, your obedient Servant,
R. Semple, Chm. Executive Committee
Capt. John B Montgomery U. S. Sloop of War Portsmouth

COMMANDER JOHN B. MONTGOMERY TO ROBERT BAYLOR SEMPLE

[A. COPY][29]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth San Francisco, Novr. 26th 1846

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, written in behalf of the Executive Committee of the late Revolutionary party in California, & returning my thanks to the Committee & to yourself individually as their Chairman for the expression of their kind & friendly sentiments & feelings towards me; & beg leave to state that the revolutionary Flag first hoisted at Sonoma on the 14th June last has never been in my possession, but belongs to my Clerk to whom it was given by one of the original party soon after the substitution of the U. S. Flag at that Post in July last.

I would respectfully remark Sir, that the Committee have been misinformed in relation to my views respecting the future disposition of the Flag, as I have never expressed the desire to present it to the National Institute of the U. States. But I recollect on one occasion when informed that the executive committee intended applying for the restoration of the Flag, that I observed to the present possessor of it, that in such an event he would have to relinquish the Flag to those who alone had the right to dispose of it; and to the best of my recollection, I at the same time remarked, that if it had fallen into my hands, or belonged to me, I should send it to the Honb Secretary of the Navy, on my arrival in the U. S.

With sentiments of respect I am Sir Your obt Sert.
Signed Jno B. Montgomery Commander
To R. Semple Esqr. Chairman of Ex Committee of the late
Revolutionary Party in Up. California

COMMANDER JOHN B. MONTGOMERY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

[A. L. S.][30]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth Boston, May 5ᵗ 1848

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that there remains in my possession three Mexican ensigns taken at the time of hoisting the flag of the U States at San Francisco in upper California, and at San Jose & La Paz in lower California by the Portsmouths crew; and also the original revolutionary, or Bear flag (as it is called) of California, for which the flag of our country (furnished from the Portsmouth) was substituted at Sonoma on the 9ᵗ. of July 1846; the latter falling into my possession in the manner explained in two notes copies of which are herewith enclosed.[31] The revolutionary flag being much soiled, and composed of cotton cloth, flannel, and black berry juice, probably the only materials possessed by the manufactorers, I have caused another to be made of bunting to accompany it, on which I have taken the liberty to clothe the Bear in his appropriate color, instead of red, as unavoidably represented on the original flag.

Should I receive no directions concerning the dispositions of these flags, they will be left with the Commandant at this station. . . .

With highest respect, I have the Honor to be Sir Your Obt Sert

Jnº. B. Montgomery Commander

To the Honorable Jnº Y Mason[32] Secretary of the Navy Washington

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SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO COMMANDER JOHN B. MONTGOMERY

[COPY][33]

Navy Department, May 10, 1848.

Commander John B. Montgomery
Comdg. U. S. S. Portsmouth, Boston.

Sir: I have received your two letters of the 5th instant. . . .

You will be pleased to deposit with the Commandant of the Navy Yard, the Mexican Ensigns taken at the time of hoisting the flag of the United States at San Francisco, referred to in your letter. . . .

I am respectfully, your obt. Servt.

J. Y. Mason

COMMANDER JOHN B. MONTGOMERY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

[A. L. S.][34]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth,
Navy Yd Boston May 15ᵗ. 1848

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your three letters of the 9ᵗ. 10ᵗ & 11ᵗ Inst, and to inform you that the 24 Registers for the officers of the

Portsmouth have been received and distributed as far as practicable, and the Four Flags, & Coal, transferred to the Commandant of the Navy Yard at this station as directed....

I have the honor to be Sir Your Obt Servt
Jn° B Montgomery Commander
To The Hon. John Y. Mason Secretary of the Navy Washington

COMMANDANT, BOSTON NAVY YARD, TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

[A. L. S.][35]

Comdts Office, Navy Yard Boston Jan^{y} 24th 1854

Sir,

I have the Honor to forward to you the Original Bear Flagg, under which the Independence of California was first proclaimed—There are two of them, the one made of cotton cloth being the Original—These flaggs were brought to this Yard by the U. S. Ship Portsmouth, on her return from the Pacific, after the Mexican War—as I learn from an officer who was on that station at the time—and must have been mislaid and forgotten for a long time—They will be handed to you by Purser Bradford,[36] who is about visiting Washington, on private business.

I have the Honor to be Very Respectfully Your Mo. Ob^{t}. Ser^{t}.
F. H. Gregory *Comdt*
Hon. J. C. Dobbin[37] Secretary of the Navy Washington
[*Endorsed*] Ans Jan^{y} 30th

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO THE COMMANDANT, BOSTON NAVY YARD

[L. S.][38]

Navy Department January 30th. 1854

Sir,

By the hands of Purser Bradford I received your letter of the 24th. instant.

I am obliged to you for transmitting the California flags—they are connected with interesting events in the history of the country and will be preserved in the Navy Department until some other disposition shall be made of them by the Executive or Congress.

Very respectfully Y'r. obt. St.
J. C. Dobbin
Comm°. F. H. Gregory Commandant Navy Yard Boston, Mass^{tts}

JOHN B. WELLER[39] AND WILLIAM M. GWIN[40] TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

[A. L. S.][41]

Senate Chamber 17 Feb 1855

Sir —

We understand that you have in your department two flags raised by the Americans in California early in 1846 which we have been requested by some of our citizens to obtain for the use of the "Pioneer association of California" — If consistent with your views of propriety you can deliver them to us we will take charge of them for the purpose aforesaid

Respectfully Your ob Serts
John B. Weller
W. M. Gwin

Hon Jas C. Dobbin Sec Navy

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY TO JOHN B. WELLER AND WILLIAM M. GWIN

[COPY][42]

Navy Department February 20th 1855

Honble John B. Weller and Wm M. Gwin
U S Senate
Gentlemen

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 17th instant, in which you state that, you have been requested by some of your citizens to obtain, for the use of the "Pioneer association of California," two flags raised by the Americans in California early in 1846 and which you understand to be in this Department.

The two flags allude[d] to were recently deposited at the Navy Department. Not being strictly the property of this Department or connected particularly with U. S. Naval service, I see no objections to my parting with them under the circumstances to be deposited in the State of California, with whose early history they are so conspicuously associated. They are therefore, at your service, Gentlemen to be disposed of as suggested.

I am respectfully Your obt. Servt.
J. C. Dobbin

JOHN B. WELLER TO THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

[A. L. S.][43]

San Francisco Cal
8 Sep 1855

To the "California Pioneers"
Gentlemen

Previous to leaving Washington City in March last I obtained from the Navy Department two flags which were used in this state at an early date by the Americans. One is the "grizzly bear flag" which was hoisted by our countrymen at Sonoma in July 1846 immediately after the defeat of De La Torre by Capt Ford and his gallant comrades. These flags although they certainly do not exhibit much artistic skill they are so connected with the early history of American affairs in California that they must be of interest to your association. They will at least serve to keep in remembrance the names of the brave and fearless pioneers who made the first movement towards expelling Mexican power from this territory

I know of no better disposition I can make of them than to commit them to your charge. As relics of the past I doubt not they will be carefully preserved.

Very Respectfully Your obd sevt
John B. Weller

EXCERPT FROM THE "DONATIONS" BOOK, SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS[44]

No. 169	Letter and Bear Flags	Procured from the military
No. 170	The "Fremont Flag" was presented at the same time	department at Washington

Donated Sept. 8, 1855, by Hon. J. B. Weller

Author's acknowledgment. — The copying of the documents upon which this article is based was made possible by fellowships generously granted to the present writer during his days as a graduate student by the Native Sons of the Golden West and by the Class of 1883, University of California.

J. A. H.

NOTES

1. Josiah Royce to Henry L. Oak, Sept. 17, 1885 (MS, Bancroft Library, Univ. Calif., Berkeley).

2. Warren N. Woodson, "Bear Flag Revolt Started in County," *Corning* [California] *Observer*, June 16, 1933.

3. For some years the present writer has been engaged in preparing a history of the Bear Flag Revolt, with special emphasis upon Frémont's part in the movement. For a summary of his present conclusions, based upon the latest research on the subject, see his "Bear Flag Revolt," in *American Heritage*, n. s., I, no. 3 (Spring 1950), 24-27. It is hoped that a series of hitherto-unpublished documents, throwing light upon Frémont's actions, can be published in this Quarterly in the near future.

4. This reference is to the letter written by John E. Montgomery to his mother, Mary Montgomery, dated at Yerba Buena, July 25, 1846, and now in possession of Yale University Library. For calling his attention to this letter, the writer is indebted to Col. Fred B. Rogers, U. S. A. (ret.).

5. Thomas Harrison Montgomery, *A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery* (Philadelphia, 1863), p. 112.

6. *U. S. S. Warren*, Log Book, Feb. 16, 1846, to April 30, 1847 (MS, National Archives, Washington, D. C.); John B. Montgomery to Robert F. Stockton, *U. S. S. Portsmouth*, Dec. 7, 1846, Navy Department, Area Files, A-9 (MS, National Archives).

7. *Daily Herald* (San Francisco), Sept. 11, 1855.

8. *The Pioneer* (San Jose), Jan. 26, 1878.

9. Society of California Pioneers, "Report of Committee on History and Biography on Bear Flag, November 30, 1887" (MS, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, San Francisco).

10. Bernard De Voto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (New York, 1943), p. 225.

11. Henry Fowler Mallett, "The Origin of the Bear Flag" (typescript, Calif. Hist. Soc., San Francisco).

12. *Napa* [California] *Register*, April 27, 1872.

13. William Baldridge, "The Days of 1846" (MS, Bancroft Library), iii-iv.

14. Navy Department, Area Files, A-9. The first page of this letter contains the marginal notation, not here reproduced, "Love to all." Drawing of flag has been enlarged one diameter.

15. Young Montgomery originally wrote that his letter would be sent "by the Bark Tasso of Boston Capt Libby which sails from this coast in December next for Boston," but he crossed these words out and replaced them with those here printed. Two additional lines of text, crossed out in the original letter at this point, are not here reproduced.

16. The *Portsmouth* actually reached San Francisco Bay on June 3, 1846.

17. For information concerning Henry L. Ford and his New England background, see Fred B. Rogers, "Bear Flag Lieutenant," this QUARTERLY, XXIX (June 1950), 129-31.

18. The figure in the original letter is illegible but most resembles an eight, a number frequently given by the Americans at the time in estimating the number of Californians killed at Olompali. *The Californian* (Monterey), Aug. 15, 1846. In all probability, only one Californian lost his life in this engagement.

19. Letters supplied are obliterated in the manuscript by a seal.

20. Words supplied are obliterated in the manuscript by a seal and by a tear in the paper.

21. Tear in the manuscript.

22. The date is illegible but is most probably the eighth.

23. William Henry Montgomery, eldest son of Commander John B. Montgomery. At this time he was twenty-six years old and held the rank of passed midshipman and acting master, U. S. N. He was serving on the *U. S. S. Warren*, which entered San Francisco Bay and anchored off Sausalito on the afternoon of Nov. 7, 1846.

24. J. V. N. Philip, at this time a midshipman, U. S. N. His name is given as "J. Van Ness Philips" in the *Cyane's* Log Book.

25. Julia Maria Montgomery, eldest daughter of Commander Montgomery, born in 1821.

26. Semple, a native of Kentucky, had been a member of the Bear Flag Party and had been prominent in the early phases of the movement. At the time of writing this letter he was editor of *The Californian*, first newspaper in California. For a biographical sketch, *see* Zoe Green Radcliffe, "Robert Baylor Semple, Pioneer," this QUARTERLY, VI (June 1927), 130-58.

27. Navy Department, Area Files, A-9.

28. Little is known of the early efforts of the "Bear Men" (as the participants in the Bear Flag Revolt sometimes called themselves) to organize in order to obtain what they considered their due "reward" for their services, and to combat for the rights of the "mass of the people" as against the men of "wealth and affability," whom they saw as having taken away the fruits of their victory at Sonoma. As is shown by the letters here printed, they had organized an "Executive Committee" by Nov. 1846, and it was prob-

ably a continuation of this group, with some changes in personnel, which produced the well-known "Report on the Bear Flag Revolt," dated May 13, 1847, and written by John H. Nash, John Grigsby, and William B. Ide.

29. John B. Montgomery, Letter Book, Sept. 6–Dec. 7, 1846 (MS, National Archives).

30. Navy Department, Commanders' Letters, Jan. to July 1848, No. 155 (MS, National Archives). There is a copy of this letter, dated May 6, 1848, in Navy Department, Area Files, A-9. The material (indicated by dots) omitted from the letter reprinted here contains no reference to the Bear Flag.

31. The two notes referred to are Semple to Montgomery, Nov. 25, 1846, and Montgomery's reply of Nov. 26, both of which are printed here.

32. John Young Mason served as secretary of the navy from March 14, 1844, to March 4, 1845; as attorney-general of the U. S. from March 4, 1845, to Sept. 9, 1846; and again as secretary of the navy from Sept. 9, 1846, to March 4, 1849.

33. Navy Department, Correspondence with Officers, Ships of War, Vol. 41, p. 455 (MS, National Archives).

34. Navy Department, Commanders' Letters, Jan. to July 1848, No. 174 (MS, National Archives).

35. Navy Department, [Letters from] Commandants, Navy Yards, Portsmouth, N. H., Boston, Memphis, and Sacketts Harbour, 1854, No. 41 (MS, National Archives).

36. John O. Bradford, who at this time ranked as a purser, U. S. N. He later became pay director and paymaster-general, U. S. N.

37. James Cochran Dobbin, secretary of the navy from March 7, 1853, to March 6, 1857.

38. Navy Department, Boston Navy Yard, [Letters from the] Secy. Navy, Jan. 1852 to June 30, 1855 (MS, National Archives).

39. John B. Weller, U. S. senator from California, 1851 to 1857. He later served as governor of California, 1858-1860, and, briefly, as minister to Mexico, 1860-1861.

40. William McKendree Gwin, U. S. senator from California, 1850-1861.

41. Navy Department, Miscel. Letters, Feb. 1855, No. 182 (MS, National Archives).

42. Navy Department, General Letter Book No. 52 (MS, National Archives), p. 22.

43. In possession of Society of California Pioneers.

44. Society of California Pioneers, Donations (MS, Soc. Calif. Pioneers), p. 26.

Diary of Emma C. Derby

Bancroft's Guest Keeps Record of European Tour,
March 25–August 6, 1867

FOREWORD. – The nineteenth century saw ideas on the methods of history cross from one continent to another, together with the transfer of historical materials. In 1855, in the preface to his *Spanish Conquest in America and Its Relation to the History of Slavery and to the Government of Colonies*, the Englishman, Sir Arthur Helps, says that he was greatly indebted to the historian Muñoz' vast collections (entrusted to the care of the Royal Academy of Madrid), to the recent publication of documents and even of histories which had hitherto remained in manuscript, "and also, incidentally, to the spirit of research which has grown up of late years in America, and which has brought to light many valuable works connected with the early records of that country."

The year before Sir Arthur made this statement, the historian and collector, George Bancroft,* addressing the New-York Historical Society on its semi-centennial in 1854, urged the cause of first-hand knowledge, reiterating the necessity for the "historical skepticism" he had recommended in June 1834, in the preface to his *History of the Colonization of the United States*. Today, George Bancroft's collection of "first-hand knowledge" is one of the prized possessions of the New York Public Library.

In the meantime, on the far-away west coast of North America, events were taking place which made it possible for H. H. Bancroft, a young man of twenty-four, and his partner, George L. Kenny, to open for business in December 1856 as publishers and booksellers. Prosperity attended this San Francisco firm, and there arose in the mind of the senior partner a desire to become a collector of items bearing on the history of California. It propelled him to Europe in 1862. As his collector's fervor increased, his field of study broadened: nothing short of the whole Pacific West, he became convinced, would suffice. So in 1867 we find him again in Europe, combing libraries, bookstores, and the depositories of learned societies for information on the global-segmental subject he had chosen. In the diary which follows, we find him likewise relaxing with his wife and niece. But Clio – the most demanding of the Muses – tugs at his sleeve and reminds him to point out the becoming robes she affects along the Seine, the Rhine ("I've been reading german history," writes Miss Derby in her diary. "I am indebted to

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*There was no family connection between George and H. H. Bancroft. For the former's service to California when secretary of the navy (1845-46) in President Polk's cabinet, *see* H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-91), V, 195-99. George Bancroft was American minister to Berlin, 1867-74.

Uncle H. for giving me the book and telling me to read it."), in the great cities, in the greater Alps, and in England. Here the evolution of design in the textile arts could also be studied, along with palaces and cathedrals, while Bancroft and his wife searched the shops for Axminsters and Wiltons as part of the furnishings for their new house in San Francisco. In England, too, they visited the country home of J. Whitaker, then Bancroft's London agent, and had the opportunity of witnessing, in the ten Whitaker children, the perpetuation of the English species (and, let us hope, of their assorted pets — including goats — which she mentions in her entry for July 27). Shortly afterwards occurs the final entry in the diary; it is dated from London on Tuesday, August 6, 1867: "We intend leaving here Thursday morning."

A half dozen years pass, and Hubert H. Bancroft, the fledged historian, is having author's copies of Volume I of his *Native Races* distributed, through Longmans & Co., publishers of the London edition, to certain Englishmen of note. Among them were Herbert Spencer, Thomas Henry Huxley, and Sir John Lubbock, whose *Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man* had appeared in 1870 and to whom the London edition of Bancroft's *Native Races* is dedicated. Among them also was Sir Arthur Helps. It was some two decades since he had made acknowledgment, "incidentally, to the spirit of research in America," as quoted in the first paragraph of this Foreword. Sir Arthur, with a copy of Bancroft's *Native Races* before him, could now make the "incidentally" more specific: "I think that the introductory chapter [constituting Vol. I] is excellent; and what strikes me most in it is the exceeding fairness with which he treats the researches and the theories of other inquirers into subjects akin to his own."**

Thus did Emma Derby's Uncle Hubert begin to pluck the fruit of his tour of 1867.

The diary is in the possession of Mrs. Alex E. (Florence Nickerson) Graham of Berkeley, California, the diarist's daughter. The diarist herself was the daughter of Cecilia Bancroft Derby, to whose husband, G. H. Derby, owner of a bookstore in Buffalo, N. Y., Hubert H. Bancroft owed his start in California. Derby placed his brother-in-law in charge of a shipment of books for the west coast, which he reached in 1852 via the Isthmus of Panama.

Bancroft made a record (now in the Bancroft Library) of this tour abroad and called it, "Journal While in Europe, 1866-67." The first sentence reads: "On the 8th day of August 1866, at noon, I set sail from New York on board the good ship Scotia, bound for the county of Cork, Ireland, in company with a lady friend, whom I had married several years previous." After their nineteen-year old niece joins them, he changes to the plural (entry for June 5, in Dresden): "My lady friends are delighted with Germany."

Appraisal of Emma Derby's diary would be superfluous; the reader will

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**H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 355, 357.

find out, for himself, the freshness, and ingenuousness, of the light it throws on the character of a famous Californian. He will discover, too, that there were really four in the Bancroft party — the diarist, her uncle and aunt, *and* the diary. And all four were very human.

A JOURNAL OF MY TRIP TO AND ABOUT EUROPE IN 1867

Presented by Uncle Hubert — Emma C. Derby

"Paris, Mar. 25th 1867. Uncle Hubert advises me to keep a journal (as I had intended to do before leaving home), and has given me this immense volume for the purpose — (wonder if I can ever fill it). Our plan is for me to commence from the day I left Buffalo, and 'write up' day by day my journey and everything I can remember connected with it.

"Buffalo, Mar. 5th. Uncle Hubert (H. H. Bancroft of San Francisco cal.) has so thoughtfully and kindly invited me to join him and Aunt Emily on their tour through Europe. They crossed from New York to Cork, Ireland in August 1866. They traveled through Ireland, spent two or three weeks in Dublin, then through Scotland, spending a week at Edinburgh, and finally reached London passing through Liverpool. But have not made the tour of England, as yet. At London they remained two months. Then crossed the channel, and came directly to Paris. They spent two months in Paris. Then started off again to Spain. They were at Madrid for two or three weeks. Then went into Italy by a road on the shores of the Mediterranean.

"They were delighted with Rome, spent from two to three weeks there. Uncle Hube bought several fine oil paintings. One was 'The Transfiguration' by Raphael. His finest and last work. Painted in the sixteenth century. This one was painted from the original in the Vatican. Another painting was the 'St. Cecilia.' Another, a gem, I think, was 'Iris' or the rainbow. Uncle Hubert is having his portrait painted there also. They also traveled through Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Venice, which I know is a beautiful place. And then, tired out with their journey, they crossed a portion of the Alps, and again into France and Paris — here to stay a month or two longer. And this, the most beautiful city of the world, is where I am going to join them. Uncle J. C. Derby has engaged a passage for me on a very fine french steamer. She sails for Brest and Havre — and on the 9th day of March. Mamma goes to New York with me. . . ."

While there, the diarist and her mother stayed with her Uncle James Derby. After breakfast the first morning, he sent for a carriage, and they went first to "Uncle Henry's 'Derby's Gallery,'" where, in her opinion, the finest of the paintings was Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair." Mr. A. T. Stewart had bought it for $20,000. The next day, March 8th, she went to Tiffany's to have a few greenbacks changed to gold. Then they stopped at a Mr. Stone's studio. "A lovely portrait of Coz. Mary" was there, which had cost her Uncle James, Mary's father, $500. That evening, she played duets with

Jennie. Her Coz. Henry Johnston complimented her playing *too much*, she thought. Mr. Walter Curtiss called on them, and Mr. Fred Taylor. Mr. Taylor brought her four volumes to read on the steamer; also, "one hundred franc pieces, 8-10 franc pieces, and 4-5 franc pieces," by her Uncle Hubert's directions, she presumed.

On March 9, 1867, she sailed. "Mamma," she wrote in her diary, "took my friends to see my stateroom. It is one of the finest on the steamer." Her Uncle James introduced her to a Mr. Ruggles, who was going to look out for her on the steamer; also to Mr. B. Lawrence Smith Esq. of Louisville, Kentucky, his wife, and niece, Miss Cauldwell; the latter was to share her stateroom. The diarist was not a good sailor: "I do not try," she says, "to stand up to do anything. In fact I do not do much but sleep." There was a bad storm, but the captain went slow – "it does no good," observes Miss Derby, "to overstrain the works." They arrived at Brest on March 20th, where, she says, nearly ninety-five passengers landed. She instructs her diary that it was "from here that the french fleet set out to our assistance in the Revolutionary war – headed by Lafayette." She and Mr. Ruggles were not to debark until Le Havre; so she had time to finish *Sunny-bank*.* A "Mons. Granier," when introduced to her, said that he "had the pleasure of knowing my uncle, 'J. C. Derby esq.' very well...."

On March 21st they reached Le Havre, where an agent of the steamer came out on a tug and, as she says, "told me my Uncle was waiting for me at the 'Hotel de l'Europe.'... Mr. Ruggles had planned to take me to Mr. Putnam's in a carriage. Now there would be no necessity.... Mr. Ruggles took a cab and we were soon at the Hotel. We walked into an open court, and up to one side where was the office. It was then a little after seven o'clock. While I was looking at Uncle Hube's name in the Register, behold! there he was at my side, looking as tall and handsome as ever." Mr. Bancroft had been informed that the passengers would not get off until 10 o'clock and was waiting for the time to come, when his niece walked into the courtyard of the hotel. He breakfasted her on "Beef-steak, omelette, potatoes and coffee." They took an omnibus at 11 o'clock A.M. for Montivilliers, home of Mr. and Mrs. – – Putnam, but were overtaken by the Putnams who had taken a cab. "She looked *very* pretty," says Emma Derby. "Her face was flushed with the exertions she had been making. Uncle H. spoke of it afterward, and wished to know if I did not think it possible that she painted. Oh! no, I told him." The Putnams, who were their hosts at luncheon, were to leave for America in five weeks in the *Ville de Paris*.

The diarist and her uncle went on to Paris on the 3 P.M. omnibus, via Havre, which she found a "pretty city, and larger than I expected to find it." At 6 P.M. they started for Paris, long pans of hot water being put under their feet in the Paris train. They passed through "more tunnels than I have passed through in America – ever. We would also often cross the Seine – which is a crooked stream of water, and narrow too." They had a moment's walk at Rouen, and then "it was not long before we reached Paris." A cab took them to Madame Brione's, 231 Faubourg St. Honoré. As it was midnight, she was not "dazzled, as Mr. Granier on board the steamer had predicted." Her Aunt Emily Bancroft welcomed them at their pension. "She looked very graceful as she knelt before the fire, trying to make the tea boil, for she had prepared a nice little supper for us up in her room." There was also a new dress, black and blue silk, for the diarist.

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*By Marion Harland (pseud. of Mary Virginia Terhune) and published in New York in 1866.

After breakfast the next morning, they went in a cab to the Louvre. The diarist speaks of the palace of the Tuilleries, occupied by the Emperor Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III) and his wife, the Spanish countess Eugénie de Montijo, and of the fact that the palace was connected with the Louvre. After lunch, her Uncle H. left them, and she and her aunt went to a dancing-school attended by a friend, Miss Bertha Nash. A Russian pupil asked Miss Derby if she had come to France from New York "by water or railway? She really asked me that question." Mr. Bancroft "went off," she says, "before dinner, no one knows where," and, after they themselves had dined, "Aunt Em and I had a talk about her mother. She wears mourning for her."

The diary continues: "March 23d . . . Uncle Hubert gave me the reading of several books. A history of England, and one of Germany. And books about Paris. In the railroad car the other night Uncle H. asked me how I should like to take music lessons here! I was delighted. Just what I had been thinking about at home. And now he says I better take of the first teacher in Paris."

They went sight-seeing; also to an establishment where they took "un bain français" – two tubs in a room, curtain between, each tub lined with linen. "While there, one on one side of the curtain and the other on the other side, Aunt Emily and I had a little confidential talk. They sometimes take these hot baths to private houses, on a wagon, but a bathroom in the Paris houses is very rare. . . . I had a present of a real lace veil," she continues, "from Aunt Em and my Uncle."

The next day, Sunday, March 24th, they went to the American Chapel – Episcopal in the A.M.; Presbyterian service in the afternoon. "The Sabbath School was closing," she says, "as we were finding seats, but my Uncle thought he would not wait, and left us for the Congregational Church." She speaks of having seen the "Hollingsworth party," earlier in the week at the Grand Hotel. (A young man, a Mr. Hollingsworth, she explains here, had seen her to her stateroom when she was seasick crossing the Atlantic.)

The Paris Exposition of 1867* was not quite ready for opening. The building was "of iron painted red – and the sides of glass." They missed seeing the Emperor on the street, as it rained and they had to come home. The diarist tried out Madame Brione's piano.

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*The first French International Exhibition was held in Paris in 1855.

March 26th. She walked out alone as "Aunt Em was not well. . . . Uncle Hubert wished to read." She got an address for Aunt Em ("a modiste who fitted beautifully — and was also expensive"). She saw some camel-hair shawls at a Mrs. Sherman's (friend of Aunt Em), the diarist serving "as a block" to try on the shawls. After home again and luncheon, "Uncle Hube took me to the 'Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile.' We climbed to the top, and the view was fine. . . .

"27th Wednesday. Uncle H. soon after breakfast went off 'on a bender,' as he said. . . ." Later they went to shop at the Bon Marché. "Aunt E. felt faint & asked for a glass of water." It came, with orange water and sugar to mix with it (eau sucré). Mr. Bancroft took the diarist to see the play, "Cinderella." She pronounced it "Magnifique! not equalled in New York." During one of the intermissions, her uncle "bought oranges."

On March 28th, they visited Les Invalides, where "soldiers worn out in the service of Napoleon find a good home." They went to Les Invalides twice in the same day, and she gives a long description of Napoleon's tomb. Later that day, they drove to the Luxemburgh.

Friday, 29th March. Arrangements were made for her to take piano lessons from M. Henri Herz. "He has given concerts in America," she says, "and has received many medals for making his pianos. He is going to give me lessons at 20 francs ($4.00 in gold) a lesson. . . . Uncle H. is so thoughtful and generous. I think taking lessons of him (M. Herz not Uncle H.) will give me quite a reputation in Buffalo, when I wish to make up a music class next winter." She must practice "three, four or five hours a day. We are to have a piano in the large room." Two dresses were bought — one for herself and one for her mother; also "boots" for herself.

"Sunday March 31st. While Aunt Emily went alone to the American Chapel today, Uncle Hube and I went first to the church of the British Embassy, where they gave us seats under a pulpit and we could see nothing, therefore we arose from the seats and left the church. Then went to the little Congregational church. It was quite full though small. . . ." She mentions seeing Gertie Willson and friends, but not to speak to. "We returned to luncheon and started off again with 'ma tante' in a cab to a french protestant church. The minister had a bottle of water and a bowl of sugar right in the pulpit, with a glass and spoon to mix it! He talked away very fast, we could hardly understand what about. There were also so many people there — nicely dressed ladies — standing, that we took pity on them and left the church. We stopped at another church but it was not open, then to still another — the famous 'Notre Dame.' "

Monday, April first, was the day of the grand opening of the Exposition. The work was not finished, but the Emperor had the opening proceed just the same. Tickets, 20 francs a piece. They did not go inside that day. Since the opening of the Exposition, their pension had American-style breakfasts and luncheon at noon. By two o'clock, the diarist and Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft had secured standing-places to witness the entrance of the Emperor and Empress into the Exposition grounds, "and soon we saw, off in the distance, horses coming at a rapid rate. The cortege consisted of two or three outriders on horses, then the royal carriage, where in the back seat were the Emperor and Empress. She looked very smiling, under her lace veil, as she bowed to the people. Aunt Emily had run across the street before they reached the place where we were. Therefore, when they passed, as *we* were on the side of the Empress, *she* was on the Emperor's. He looked very cross, she said. He does not feel at all pleased at the condition the Exposition is in." It was a sunny, pleasant day, and there were great crowds of people. She and her aunt and uncle then went to the Tuilleries gardens. It was full of nurses and children, etc. A crowd had collected "to see a toy row boat, on a large pond of water, towed quite rapidly by a little doll in the boat — a little man doll — and the little lady doll was sitting in the stern taking the ride. Of course there was machinery within. . . .

"2d April. My Uncle had made an arrangement with his agent to make some purchases today. . . ." Mr. Bousange took them "to five different places to look at clocks, but none suited Uncle Hubert. We took luncheon at a first class restaurant, then went to a paper manufactory, where among many other things Uncle Hubert was good enough to order for me a ream of writing paper — with envelopes — stamped with my three initials, besides five hundred visiting cards for 'Miss Derby.' Next we drove to an engravers where they received all the engravings printed." Several were selected for a third party.

April 3d. Some dress-making problems were attended to; also some gloves and ribbons were bought for the diarist. "Uncle H. says he is going to leave to me the getting up of the list of sights that I think are worth seeing — both here in Paris and elsewhere. It will be a good thing for me, he says. I must not only know what places to go to see, but also how, and when, to go to them."

April 4th. They drove to the Bon Marché; her aunt and uncle "made a great many purchases, among other things *all but* purchased two chantilly lace shawls. We had orange water again. . . . And as we left the store for lunch (which we purchased in a bakery near by) they gave us as souvenirs of Bon Marché: To Aunt E. and me, each a fan. And to Uncle H. a guide of Paris. . . .

"April 5th — Friday . . . I put on a pair of my 1.40 fr. kid gloves which tore right out. It does not pay to buy cheap kid. . . .

"April 6th . . . After lunch, 'we three' went to a large lace and camel-hair shawl establishment — 'Compagnie des Indes,' and there instead of Bon Marché the shawls (lace) were purchased. *I* had the honor of choosing Aunt

Em. Palmers. . . ." They then went back to the Bon Marché and bought some silk dresses for relatives, etc. "Uncle Hubert says I am to have another silk dress, and perhaps a *velvet cloak*. He is clothing me up like a father. I hope he will understand how fully I appreciate his kindness." She gives the names of friends at the pension — Mr. and Mrs. Foster and a Mrs. Haven.

Sunday, April 7th. She overslept, and "Madame" told Mrs. Bancroft that consequently she was paresseuse (lazy)! "Aunt E. and I went to the American chapel. . . . When we reached home Uncle H. was asleep on the bed and in the afternoon *I* had a nap." In the evening, she, Mrs. Foster, and Mrs. Haven walked in the garden. "The moon was new, and the stars were shining — and it was beautiful.

"Monday April 8th . . . (Mrs. Haven's piano is *ours* now, up here). There was such a monster of a trunk, which Uncle Hube had ordered made as he could not find one large enough in all Paris, came home this morning. It is actually long enough to hold the long 'trained' skirts without folding them over. We have been putting some things into it, to go home to America without packing — among them Mamma's and my silk dresses. . . . Last Sunday, a man brought up some pants — which he expected Uncle H. to try on, and pay for. He merely paid for them and sent the man away.

"April 9th, 10th & 11th. I did nothing especially but practicing — one day actually practicing five hours." Friends at the pension, named Nash, also had a "not very *new* rented piano." They invited the elder Nashes to their rooms but "the whole family" came, and "Uncle H. actually went out for wine and cake . . . We had tea also."

April 12th, they went to the dressmaker's, Mme. Mercier. "She took my measure for a black velvet basquine [skirt]! And altogether there were seven dresses left there, for us. After those are finished there will be others. Then I reached the corner of Rue de la Victoire just as Mr. Herz turned into that street in his open cab — with his lavender gloves — and cigar. After my lesson . . . [long lesson] I went to a bakery where Uncle H. was to meet me, ate my lunch, and when he came started off to find Aunt Emily. We met at a milliners where Uncle H. bought for me my first Paris bonnet — it is white lace with green flowers — quite pretty. They also ordered a blue velvet one for next winter, a present for Aunt Fanny. I had a real pretty pair of bronze slippers, purchased for me before I reached home."

April 13th. They went to the Exposition for the first time. "The building is laid out in circles. There are six, and in the centre of the grounds. . . . The circles comprise groups of the same articles of the different countries. Therefore the countries run across the groups, from the centre to the outer circle. The first circle towards the centre contains the paintings and statuary. We spent most of our time today in that, and then did not complete the circle. The 'Niagara Falls' by Church amongst the American artists was very good. Also a painting of Abraham Lincoln was lifelike, though *almost too homely*.

There were a great many portraits of the 'Princess of Wales,' sometimes with her little son, in the English department. Also of Queen Victoria, poor body – for it is generally admitted that she is deranged. . . ." The diarist liked a large picture of the Prodigal Son, finely dressed "with a wine cup in hand. This was where he was spending his substance," she says.

On Easter, she and her aunt and uncle went to the church of St. Eustach, to hear the music. It was "the grandest I have ever heard, I think. The subject of staying abroad another year was discussed this evening, and thus going to the Holy Land, and to Russia besides what we intend doing. Uncle Hubert would do it I am sure, if Aunt Emily did not think it best to return to her father and little girl. Therefore we still intend returning in August.

"April 17th . . . A Mr. Eastman and wife and daughter (the son is expected soon) have arrived. He is the American consul to Bristol, England. He is exhibiting a model street railroad car at the World's fair. Mrs. & Miss Eastman (who is about my age) with Mr. & Mrs. Foster, and 'us three' made a party for Versailles today." The diarist gives an enthusiastic description of the terraces, trees, etc. ". . . and an orange tree planted by the Queen of Navarre before America was discovered – in 1412! The guide gave me a leaf off it which I sent to one of Floy's school-friends. . . . We procured a good luncheon after this of bread & butter, radishes, beer and cheese – which really tasted better than all the sweet stuffs in christendom, to a hungry person. . . .

"April 18th. We went 'sight-seeing' today, also. A fine carriage, with two horses drove up punctually at nine o'clock. Uncle H. had engaged them to come. . . ." They drove to Malmaison but could not enter because of repairs in progress; then to Sêvres, "the renowned manufactory of china. We merely saw the show rooms, not being permitted into the workshops." She mentions prices: "cups and saucers, 500 francs, $100; and one table in china, painted, 20,000 francs – $4000. Then we drove to the Village of St. Cloud. . . . Then to the palace of St. Cloud where the present Emperor & Empress sometime live. . . . From Saint Cloud we drove through the forest-like 'Bois-de-Boulogne.' . . . We dismissed our *coach* on the Champs Élysées, for we wished to see the finely dressed ladies – as today commences the fête de Longchamps, when the ladies set the fashion for the year. But the Champs Élysées was no gayer apparently than on other days. . . . And tomorrow my music lesson, which I have had time to practice, hardly one bit.

"Friday 19th . . . Mr. Herz told me my touch was better, and that I would profit more from my lesson, after my return home. He said I had a good knowledge of the rudiments, also. . . . Young Eastman and his Mother & sister took me out in the evening. We walked through the Champs Élysées. Paris is beautiful by gas-light. . . .

"Saturday, 20th. While Aunt Emily & Mrs. Haven spent the morning at the Bon Marché, I practiced, until Uncle H. said, 'Come Emma, we will have some luncheon, then go out.' We took a cab and drove to several bookstores. While I staid outside, there was quite a little shower came up. But the 'cocher' protected me nicely from it. Then we drove to a wholesale picture gallery where we got a dozen or two stereoscopic views of Paris – from four to six francs a dozen. To get home we went aboard one of the little river boats, which take passengers to and from the Exposition. . . ."

Sunday, she felt dizzy in the morning and stayed in bed. Mrs. Bancroft gave her for lunch "tea and an orange – and I was quite comfortable. . . ."

Monday, 22d. They went to the races at Longchamps in the Bois-de-Boulogne. The Emperor was there. ". . . he is quite short, and rather old looking – not as fine looking as his pictures make him. We met the Shermans out there. In the evening I managed to practice nearly two hours.

"Tuesday, 23d. With a cab we looked about at Clocks. . . . Uncle H. at last made a selection of a clock, black and spotted marble surmounted by two bronze images – 'Peace & Plenty.' And for mantel ornaments beautiful bronze images matching the clock (one Diana, the other Aurora), the whole for $180 in gold. He also bought a white marble clock for a bed-chamber, with little praying Samuel on the top.

"Wednesday, 24th. Two carriages full from our house bound to the Exposition today – in the rain. . . . Young Eastman took me about. We went the third and fourth circles today, nearly. The way the dolls were dressed was wonderful. In the same department was a drum which played without hands, and a beautiful singing bird in a clock. We went to hear Patti sing in the evening (it was for her benefit) at the Italian opera. Uncle H. took Miss Eastman and me. She sang parts of several operas – beautifully. We had the best seats left, at the time the tickets were purchased – and those were in the fourth gallery, and it was very warm. Nevertheless we heard Patti sing.

"Thursday, 25th. We had a fire, as it was so cold. . . . Aunt Emily was in bed part of the time. Miss Eastman and I went down street together, après midi. I ordered a brown straw bonnet, which came up in the evening. It is quite pretty, Aunt Emily thinks. Uncle H. does not so much like it.

(To be continued)

The California Regiment, Colonel Baker, and Ball's Bluff

By Paul Fatout

ON SUNDAY, April 21, 1861, placards arrested crowds in downtown New York:

> CALIFORNIANS – TO ARMS. CALIFORNIA STEAMERS IN DANGER. RALLY, CALIFORNIANS – THE FEDERAL CAPITAL IS IN DANGER. FIRST CALIFORNIA REGIMENT, TO THE RESCUE. CALIFORNIANS, OREGONIANS, COAST MEN, AND MEN WHO HAVE SEEN SERVICE, ATTENTION. A MEETING WILL BE HELD AT THE METROPOLITAN HOTEL, AT 1 O'CLOCK TO-DAY (SUNDAY) IN ORDER TO FORM A CALIFORNIA REGIMENT. NONE BUT MEN ACCUSTOMED TO WORK ARE REQUESTED TO ATTEND. OVER $25,000 IS ON HAND TO EQUIP THE REGIMENT AND SUSTAIN THEM.[1]

The principal instigator of this call to arms was the quondam Californian, Edward Dickinson Baker. An emigrant from England to Philadelphia at the age of four, he later lived in New Harmony, Indiana, then in Belleville and Springfield, Illinois, where he knew Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Richard Yates, and Lyman Trumbull. Having served in the Illinois legislature, in the U. S. Senate, and in the Black Hawk and Mexican wars, Baker removed to California in 1852, then to Oregon, where he was elected U. S. senator in 1860 – the only Republican sent to Congress from the Pacific coast. In 1861 he was prominent in the Senate, an influential friend of President Lincoln, and an ardent Union man.[2]

The Sunday meeting attracted some two hundred Californians, former Californians, and others, who chose a chairman, J. C. Birdseye, three secretaries – Millard B. Farrell, J. J. Arrington, and Ross Fish – and twenty vice-presidents. Senator Baker spoke briefly, hoarse from having made an impassioned appeal to the monster mass-meeting in Union Square on Saturday. As reported by the New York *Times:* "It was the time for action, and not for talking. . . . It had been represented that California was not true to the Union. If she is not, we (said the Colonel) will make her so."[3]

Other speeches were made, after which the meeting adopted resolutions of loyalty, and acclaimed Senator Baker as commander of the new regiment. It was to be "composed of picked men . . . officered only by men who have seen actual service," and the uniforms were to be "supplied from a fund made up of [*sic*] Californians."[4]

By April 25, 1861, enlistment headquarters at 534 Broadway had signed up 630 volunteers, who were set to drilling in a capacious new building on the corner of Fourth Street and Broadway. On May sixth five companies were mustered in, the rolls of four others were ready, and New York companies from Tarrytown, Ithaca, and Amsterdam had been attached to the regiment. Among the volunteers, observed the New York *Tribune*, "Those who are not actual Californians are chiefly country boys, mainly from the vicinity of Philadelphia."[5] Active in that city was Col. Isaac J. Wistar, formerly of San Francisco, where he had been Baker's law partner. With considerable difficulty, Wistar rounded up recruits and shipped them to New York. According to him, ". . . for every hundred men, drunk and sober, actually got by hook and crook safely on board the cars, at least a hundred and fifty had to be enlisted . . . even after the trains were in motion, many jumped off. . . ."[6]

Still, the ranks gradually filled. Because of its many Pennsylvanians, the regiment was officially enrolled, late in 1861, as the 71st Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, newspaper stories and dispatches of commanders almost invariably called it "the California Regiment."[7]

In late May, after a few days at a makeshift camp at Throgg's Neck, on the Sound, the Californians removed to nearby Fort Schuyler, a 52-acre reservation among the northern defenses of New York harbor. Here for the next three weeks the heterogeneous assortment of green country boys, Forty-niners, and Mexican War veterans became slowly seasoned under some semblance of field conditions, and were not unduly inhibited by the amateurish drills and discipline that in 1861 passed for basic training. Said the New York *Times:*

> Col. Baker's fine body of men are comfortably domiciled at Fort Schuyler where they . . . enjoy all the luxuries of the season — thanks . . . to Quartermaster Young, who seems to compel . . . the powers of earth, air and water to his will . . . quarters so cool, breezy and delightful that a *millionaire* would not grudge his $3 a day for like conveniences . . . an abundance of everything edible, including . . . fish . . . caught from the very walls of the fortification. . . . The men . . . present an extremely fine appearance . . . stalwart, tough-looking customers, who can give . . . as much as they are ever likely to take, and . . . a little more.[8]

By the middle of June the regiment numbered about 950, all, except for two companies, uniformed in regulation New York state gray. Arms were scarce, only some 500 old muskets being available for drilling, but an issue of Enfield rifles was expected. The usual Civil War deficiency in hospital equipment and unconcern for sanitation kept many men on the sick list. Notwithstanding such drawbacks (and in spite of the soft millionaire's quarters and fishing from the walls), the Californians became a unit "noticeable for . . . superb equipment and the thorough drilling which they have undergone."[9]

This was exhibited on June twenty-third, preparatory to shoving off for Fortress Monroe, at a dress parade for Brigadier General Hall and Colonel Baker. A gala crowd was transported from the city by the side-wheeler, *General Arthur*, and guests fair and otherwise were entertained by the officers. At this time the principal officers, after Colonel Baker, were: lieutenant colonel, Isaac J. Wistar; major, Robert A. Parrish, Jr.; adjutant, E. D. Baker, Jr.; surgeon, A. G. Baker; assistant-surgeon, Justin Dwinelle; quartermaster, Francis G. Young; quartermaster's sergeant, George H. Wheeler; commissary captain, J. W. Lingenfelter; commissary sergeant, George P. Becker; sergeant major, John F. Smith. By special permission of President Lincoln, the regiment was allowed to increase its strength to 1,500.[10]

Embarking for Fortress Monroe on June 28, 1861, the California Regiment landed in New York City at Fourteenth Street, East River, then paraded for two hours, Colonel Baker riding ahead of his troops on a splendid black horse, and the whole outfit winning the tribute of hurrahing citizens. "The Colonel's self-possessed, soldierly mien, and regular features, dignified by his fine silvery grey hair, caused him to be greeted, at every turn, with applause."[11] At the Astor House, "the guests greeted them with prolonged cheers – the ladies waving their compliments from the windows."[12] Ferrying to Jersey from Cortlandt Street, the regiment entrained for Philadelphia, where it camped in Suffolk Park for several days of lavish entertainment. Six more full companies joining the regiment there, it was divided into two battalions of 800 men each; then on to Washington, and by steamer to Fortress Monroe, arriving there on July sixth, and going into camp near Hampton Creek. Here, for the first time, Colonel Baker camped with his command.

At this base, commanded by Gen. Ben Butler, affairs were about as chaotic as elsewhere, some regiments being so flimsily outfitted by cheating contractors that, to the New York *Tribune*,

> Next to the Rebellion itself is the rascality practiced in supplying the New York troops with uniforms. . . .
>
> Naked, barefooted men – made so by the frauds of those by whom they should be cherished. . . . Not a small portion . . . are without shoes; many . . . are in an unpresentable condition in other respects. . . .[13]

The *Times* correspondent, complaining of "Shoddy uniforms, inferior shirts, and shoes of the frailest and shabbiest make," hailed the arrival from Baltimore of two steamers, the *Adelaide* and *Georgiana*, loaded with:

> tents and . . . appendages, knapsacks, military coats, caps, pantaloons, cartridge boxes . . . all much needed. . . . wagons, horses, mules and harness are also . . . shortly to arrive here. The lack of . . . conveyance has been a serious drawback . . . to the advance of our troops further into the sacred soil of Virginia.[14]

Under such conditions morale was low. Colonel Baker on an earlier inspection trip, made at Lincoln's request, had reported that "The troops are not in good condition [;] they have but little 'esprit de corps' – and are I fear poorly officered. The material is *good*, but they are not as I think very reliable now."[15] Morale suffered also from an infestation of senators and congressmen, who streamed down from Washington, demanding demonstrations of newfangled ordnance; and, what with inspections and parades, the soldiers might be "under arms between two and three hours, and barely get back to their tents for religious instruction from their Chaplains . . . to be turned out again to please visitors, for an hour or two."[16]

Aside from such goings-on, the California Regiment's three weeks at Fortress Monroe were a humdrum routine of drill, guard and picket duty. The only casualty was Private J. T. Songster, of Philadelphia, who, by mistake, was killed by a Federal sentry. On July twenty-fourth, a California detachment took part in an amphibious sortie of three hundred men and seven field pieces aboard "the propeller Fanny," under command of Lieutenant Crosby, against an enemy battery at Back River, Virginia. The abandoned position offered no resistance, and there was no fight. Lieutenant Crosby's force surprised and burned nine sloops and schooners, and brought off a rich prize freighted with bacon, corn, and furniture.

When the Union rout at Bull Run on July 21, 1861, had caused panic in Washington, Gen. Winfield Scott ordered four and a half regiments recalled to the city. On July twenty-sixth, General Butler, by rounding up extra steamer transport, dispatched 4,000 men, among them most of the California Regiment, the remainder following the next day. "These regiments," reported the general, "are among the very best that I have, and, with the exception of their equipments, will compare favorably with any other volunteers in the service."[17]

At Washington, Colonel Baker's men set up a well-policed camp just outside the city on the commandeered property of the banking firm of Corcoran & Riggs. The Confederates not following up their smashing Bull Run vistory, hysteria subsided, and for weeks the monotonous bulletin, "All quiet along the Potomac," was so often repeated that it irritated civilians who were impatient for action. Parading was a popular occupation, the California Regiment marching with great éclat up and down Pennsylvania Avenue and being twice reviewed in August by President Lincoln. In that month also Colonel Baker was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, but refused to accept the promotion. As he explained to Lincoln:

> The opinion manifested by the Senate . . . as to the compatibility of the office of a senator . . . with the office of a General compels me to decline the commission. I do not feel at liberty to resign the position with which I am honored by . . . Oregon.
>
> I return respectful thanks for the confidence indicated by the appointment, and . . . assure you that I deem the present crisis as a demand on every good citizen for all his energy and courage.[18]

More serious business than parades seemed imminent when, on September fourth, Gen. George Brinton McClellan ordered Colonel Baker's command to report to Gen. William F. Smith at Camp Advance, near the Chain Bridge northwest of Washington and on the Virginia side of the Potomac. At that outpost, with Beauregard's army in the near vicinity, the situation was warmer, militarily, than heretofore. Opposing pickets, near enough to take shots at each other, made incautious reconnoitering dangerous. Captain Lingenfelter, of Oregon, exploring with a few men beyond the Federal picket line, was suddenly surrounded by a Confederate detachment, and in the ensuing skirmish he was instantly killed by a shot through the head. The lines were so close that two California officers, Maj. Frank Lemon and Lieut. Charles Dimond, burned farm buildings in the enemy camp on Munson's Hill by firing hot slugs into a haystack. In a reconnaissance to Lewinsville, Virginia, on September 11, 1861, the California Regiment was for the first time under artillery fire, although the enemy's misdirected shells whistling overhead exacted no casualties. On the twenty-eighth, General Smith mounted a night offensive against Munson's Hill, which was taken without a struggle, the enemy having withdrawn a few days before. Yet this bloodless engagement did spill blood, when, in the darkness, nervous picket guards of the 4th Michigan mistook Union troops for the enemy and touched off a general fusillade by firing upon them, killing four men of the California Regiment and wounding fourteen. Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar, galloping furiously between the lines blazing away, finally stopped the firing, but not before the Californians had similarly damaged the 4th Michigan.

By the middle of October, Colonel Baker was in command of the Philadelphia Brigade — California Regiment, 69th, 72d, and 106th Pennsylvania — which was attached to the division of Gen. Charles P. Stone, whose headquarters were at Poolesville, Maryland. His three brigades were spread out between Edward's Ferry and Harper's Ferry. The enemy concentrating at Leesburg, Virginia, about four miles from the river, the strategy was to attack him by crossing the main force at Edward's Ferry, while a smaller force created a diversion at Harrison's Island, a few miles above. Opposite this island occurred, on October twenty-first, the lamentable reverse of Ball's Bluff, so-called because of the precipitous bank, about a hundred feet high, on the Virginia side of the river.

General McClellan suggesting, on October twentieth, that "perhaps a slight demonstration" might move the enemy, General Stone dispatched Colonel Devens and the 15th Massachusetts to Harrison's Island, and about midnight ordered him to cross the river for reconnaissance. By four A.M. of the twenty-first, Devens had crossed five companies of the 15th Massachusetts and 100 men of the 20th Massachusetts under Colonel Lee. At daylight this force — 28 officers and 625 men — advanced without opposition to within a mile of Leesburg, where it skirmished with enemy outposts, then fell back gradually to the vicinity of Ball's Bluff. General Stone ordered Devens to remain there, and promised support.

The first battalion of the California Regiment having in the meantime been sent to Harrison's Island, Colonel Baker was given command of all the forces operating from the island, and was allowed by General Stone either to "advance the California regiment . . . or retire the regiments under

Colonels Lee and Devens upon the Virginia side of the river, at your discretion. . . ."[19] Colonel Baker elected to advance. He had so few boats, with which to ferry his troops over the hundred yards of swift current, that transportation was slow and irregular. No efficient system prevailed, no artillery on the island or on the Maryland shore covered the crossing. "It seemed," said the regimental quartermaster, Captain Young,

> as if the column was expected to walk across on the water. . . . Nothing but one old scow, capable of holding, perhaps, forty men, appeared available on either side of the island. . . . At length I discovered a large scow in the canal, and two hours were consumed in getting it over into the Maryland channel. It would hold about sixty men.[20]

Once on the other side, the men, dragging their guns, scrambled up a steep and rocky trail to the summit. Not until mid-afternoon were the first California battalion and a part of the Tammany regiment (42d New York) on top of Ball's Bluff.

Of Colonel Baker's total available force of about 6,500, only some 1,400 were on the Virginia side – the California Regiment going in with 689 – together with two howitzers and one rifled James gun.[21] He drew up his troops in a semicircle on the river side of an open six- or eight-acre field, bordered on three sides by heavy woods. The enemy, taking cover among the trees, had kept up a desultory fire since ten o'clock, but, up to two-thirty, Colonel Baker considered his position tenable, and so reported it to General Stone. About three o'clock, however, the reinforced Confederates, who then outnumbered the Federals by more than two to one, murderously assaulted the exposed Union troops.[22] So hot was the fire that the rifled gun and howitzers were almost useless, gunners being either killed or driven from their posts. About 5,000 Union reinforcements, visible late in the day on the Maryland side, had no means of crossing to get into the battle, though why none came up on the Virginia side from Edward's Ferry is one of the mysteries of this affair.

Colonel Baker was everywhere on the field as he cheered and steadied his men, urged them to lie low, and took a hand in manning the guns when gunners fled. When Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar tried to collect himself after being wounded for the third time, the colonel pulled him to his feet with the nonchalant remark, "What, Wistar, hit again?" and assisted him to the rear. But the enemy's superior fire power more than offset the cool courage of Colonel Baker. His troops wilting under volley after volley poured in from three sides, and no additional boats readied for a quick retreat, he realized that his plight was hopeless. Almost his last words were, "Then let us do all we can, and die bravely."[23]

Shortly thereafter, Baker fell, shot several times at point-blank range by an enemy private, who then crawled toward him to capture his sword. Whereupon Captain Berial, of Company G, rushed out with ten men, shot the man through the head, and retrieved the body of their commander. The colonel's death, together with the disabling of many other officers, created confusion that became disaster. As dusk blurred the field, the ranks wavered, gave ground in orderly retreat, then broke for the river in wild flight. As described by Randolph Shotwell, of the 8th Virginia:

> . . . the huddled mass upon . . . the cliff . . . rushed a few steps; then, in one . . . panic-stricken herd . . . leaped . . . over the precipice! . . . Men . . . threw themselves into the river without divesting themselves of their heavy accoutrements, hence went to the bottom like lead. Others sprang down upon . . . those below. A gray-haired private of the First California was found with his head mashed between two rocks by the . . . boots of a ponderous "Tammany" man, who had broken his own neck by the fall!
>
> . . . The . . . river seemed filled with heads, struggling, screaming. . . . Captain Otter, of the First California . . . was found . . . with two men of his company clutching his neckband. Had he attempted to save them, or had they seized him and dragged him down? One officer was found with $126 in gold in his pocket; it had cost him his life.[24]

Captain Young told a ghastly story of men "tumbling . . . down the steep heights; the enemy following, murdering, and taking prisoners. . . . Hundreds plunged into the rapid current, and the shrieks of the drowning added to the horror. . . . The enemy kept up their fire from the cliff above. All was terror, confusion and dismay."[25]

The battle of Ball's Bluff was like Dunkirk, but worse in that the water route of retreat was served only by the haphazard operation of far too few boats. Overloaded scows capsized, spilling wounded men into the river, and 600 Federals and three guns were captured by the enemy. The casualties of the California Regiment, hardest hit of any in this engagement, were: 13 killed, 40 wounded, 278 missing.[26] General Stone was stunned. Supposing that Colonel Baker had engaged his entire available force, the general found the disaster "inexplicable. . . . Our troops under Col. Baker were reported in good condition & position within 15 minutes of the death of Col. B."[27]

Honoring the fallen colonel, colors flew at half-staff in New York City. In San Francisco the populace, planning a rousing jubilee over completion of the transcontinental telegraph, postponed the celebration on hearing the news. The funeral, at the home of Colonel Webb in Washington on October 25, 1861, was attended by Cabinet members, General Scott, senators Latham and McDougal of California, and by the President himself, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his loyal friend. Twelve men of the California Regiment preceded the hearse, which was also escorted by the Pennsylvania Zouaves, 36th Pennsylvania, and 4th Rhode Island. In Philadelphia, the body lay in state in Independence Hall, and among the pallbearers were two major-generals and three brigadiers. In New York, on November eleventh, impressive obsequies preceded the ceremony of placing the body aboard the *Northern Light* bound for San Francisco, free passage provided by Cornelius Vanderbilt. Out in California, on December eleventh, an immense cortege marshalled by Col. J. D. Stevenson accompanied the mortal remains of Colonel Baker to Lone Hill Cemetery after an oration by Hon. Edward D. Stanley and funeral services by Right Reverend Bishop Kip.

General McClellan commended "a patriot, zealous for the honor . . . of his . . . country"; General Stone cited the colonel's "cheering on his men, and by his own example sustaining the obstinate resistance they were making." Even while these encomiums were being written, an acrid controversy flared up between partisans of Baker and of Stone. It soon flamed to such a pitch that within two weeks the battle of Ball's Bluff and its bitter aftermath were spread over some thirty-four closely printed columns in the New York *Times*, twenty-five or more in the New York *Tribune*. Sparks carried to the west coast. "One would suppose," said the San Francisco *Herald*,

> that the first care of the General would have been to provide ample . . . transportation, as well as to secure a safe retreat as to facilitate a rapid advance. We find, however, that no effort had been made to supply this . . . obvious need. . . . "Some one has blundered," and, alas, the blunder has now no remedy.[28]

Virulence was aggravated by widespread publication of General Stone's alleged "orders" directing Colonel Baker, as soon as his column was in position, to "make a dash at Leesburg, and shoot down every lawless depredator who may leave the ranks."[29] Hence the colonel's friends charged that the general had wantonly sacrificed Baker by ordering him to advance against too great odds. General Stone emphatically denied issuing any such orders — which cannot be found in the *Official Records* — but their *assumed* validity was calamitous for him and others. Editors, looking for a scapegoat, denounced Stone as incompetent, and then, by the easy emotional transition common in those tense times, as a Confederate sympathizer. Horace Greeley shouted "Treason!" and printed in his New York *Tribune* the erroneous story that Colonel Baker, after reading the general's non-existent "dash at Leesburg" order, had said, "I will do it but this is my death warrant."[30]

General Stone retaliated by citing his original dispatch, which permitted Colonel Baker to advance or retire at discretion, these bloodstained orders having been found in Baker's hat after his death.[31] The general seized the opportunity to criticize the colonel for not deploying into the woods before the enemy got them, for keeping his troops in an exposed position on the bluff, for not bringing up his reserves, and most especially for his fatal lack of adequate and organized ferryage.

The conflict was one of those wrangles that often followed Union reverses, that become hotter in post-war memoirs, and that are still heated.[32] As usual, the Ball's Bluff uproar was not merely patriotic indignation. Involved were the prominence of Colonel Baker, friction between regular and volunteer officers, the Committee on the Conduct of the War, hostility to General McClellan, hostility to Lincoln — a brew of vindictiveness that not only ruined General Stone, but also besmirched officers of the California Regiment: Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar; Major Parrish; captains Berial, Ritman, and Young; and lieutenants Hicks, Grith, and Neall.[33] The contemporary student may marvel and take heart that the Union nevertheless triumphed.[34]

At that time, top military opinion sided with General Stone. His assistant adjutant-general, Lieut.-Col. A. V. Colburn, published a long defense, in which he said that

> Col. Baker was directed to use his . . . discretion about crossing his force or withdrawing . . . troops already over . . . not to cross . . . on any account unless . . . transportation was sufficient to cross his entire force . . . to . . . keep open his communication so that he could recross if necessary. . . . Gen. Stone . . . was . . . much surprised when he . . . found that only about 1,700 had crossed. He found, also, that no one was in charge of the ferry, and that the boats were swamped.[35]

General McClellan's general order No. 52, sent to Baker's brigade, expressed confidence in the troops and the certainty that "when they next meet the enemy they will fully retrieve this check for which they are not accountable." Col. Thomas Jordan, assistant adjutant-general to Beauregard, sent through the lines to General Stone, captured copies of his orders that the general might defend himself. Of most weight perhaps are the words of the Confederate general, D. H. Hill, who wrote on January 13, 1862: "The rashness of Colonel Baker defeated a well-devised and well-arranged plan of general advance on the 21st October."[36]

To an armchair analyst ninety years after the event, Colonel Baker does appear to have been rash in entrusting the safety of his command to the unsystematic operation of a few clumsy flatboats. Some of his officers, as well as most civilian critics, harshly condemned General Stone for this disastrous error, yet Colonel Baker, as commander of the crossing maneuver, cannot be absolved of a large share of responsibility. He seems to have been a soldier of the romantic school, depending on dash and fire rather than upon the mechanics of organized preparation. Wistar, describing his commander's habits as a lawyer in San Francisco, remarked that "with all his rich stores of memory and transcendental talent in statement and speech . . . he required to have his splendid powers supplemented by those of some less brilliant but more orderly and laborious associate. . . ."[37] Of the colonel's qualities of command at Ball's Bluff, Wistar said that, in thinking he could strike a blow of sufficient importance to justify the excessive risk, Baker was "terribly mistaken, as . . . discovered too late . . . in presence of a . . . superior force already in position."[38]

Such criticism of unwise tactics need not, however, blemish his earnest patriotism and wholehearted devotion to the Union cause. Across the country, editorial columns paid respectful tribute. The New York *Times*, discerning his unrealized potential, praised Baker as "a vigorous . . . and able officer . . . [who] had already rendered . . . substantial service . . . by making the brigade intrusted to his command one of the best disciplined and most effective in the service. He has fallen too soon for his own fame, and for the welfare of his country."[39] In the middle west, the Indianapolis *Daily Journal* called him

> a noble man, singularly gifted by nature, an orator, statesman and soldier, beloved for his virtues and admired for his manly character. . . . He had placed himself in one short session in the first rank of debaters in the Senate and in a few months service, in the field gained universal confidence as a leader.[40]

The San Francisco *Herald* eulogized "the gallantry of our late accomplished soldier and statesman. . . . We hope the legacy of a brave example which he gave to his countrymen will not be fruitless of good results."[41] Young Willie Lincoln's "Lines on the Death of Colonel Baker" declared: "There was no patriot like Baker,/So noble and so true." Charles W. Denison, chaplain of the U. S. general hospital at Fortress Monroe, composed "The Dirge of Baker," which he sent to the President:

All ready, all steady, each brave arm was daring,
For *Baker* was with us, his eye flashing fire;
His keen blade aloft, his broad bosom baring,
The hearts of his men was his funeral pire [*sic*]!

We saw, as he fell with his garments all gory,
The spirit of *Washington* hovered around;
And *Baker* shall live there forever in story,
For the deeds of his valor have hallowed the ground![42]

Of the California Regiment, suffice to say that in days subsequent to that bloody October afternoon a number of the missing drifted back to camp, and that the outfit remolded its shattered pieces. As the 71st Pennsylvania it went on to gallant service at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Cold Harbor, and elsewhere. But that is another story.

NOTES

1. New York *Times*, Apr. 22, 1861.

2. For a concise summary of the life of Senator Baker, see *Dictionary of American Biography*.

3. New York *Times*, Apr. 22, 1861. Offsetting apprehension over California loyalty is the strong statement of the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, Apr. 25, 1861: "California has not seceded – will not secede. Against any attempt to force her out of the Union, we are willing and ready to lay down our lives." Said the New York *Times*, Nov. 9, 1861: ". . . there is little doubt that [Baker's] great . . . popularity, united with his . . . persuasive eloquence, gained Oregon and California to the Republican cause, and perhaps kept both states in the Union. . . ."

4. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, May 14, 1861, quoting New York letter of Apr. 27, 1861.

5. New York *Tribune*, June 29, 1861.

6. *Isaac Jones Wistar, Autobiography* (New York, 1937), p. 357.

7. See *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), particularly Ser. I, Vols. II, V.

8. New York *Times*, June 12, 1861.

9. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin,* July 12, 1861, quoting New York letter of June 25, 1861.

10. *Ibid.* There is no evidence that the California Regiment mustered 1,500 effectives in the field at any time in 1861.

11. New York *Tribune,* June 29, 1861.

12. New York *Times,* June 29, 1861.

13. New York *Tribune,* July 13, 1861.

14. New York *Times,* July 20, 1861.

15. E. D. Baker to Lincoln, June 16, 1861. Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, Microfilm, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

16. New York *Tribune,* July 13, 1861.

17. *Official Records* (as in note 7 above), Ser. I, Vol. II, 763.

18. E. D. Baker to Lincoln, August 31, 1861. Robert Todd Lincoln Collection (as in note 15 above).

19. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. V, 303.

20. "Battle of Edwards Ferry. Capt. Francis G. Young's Statement." San Francisco *Herald,* Nov. 22, 1861. Testimony on the boats is confusing. General Stone's report, *Official Records, ibid.,* pp. 300-304, lists two flatboats, one "second hand ferry," one metallic life boat, two skiffs; total capacity, 172. Captain Young's report, *ibid.,* pp. 327-29 – at variance with his statement above – lists three flatboats and one small skiff: total capacity, about 125. Young also says: "There was no regularity or order in the movement of the boats."

21. Available to Colonel Baker were the four regiments of his own brigade, together with the 19th and 20th Massachusetts and 42nd New York – a total force of probably 6,000-7,000.

22. Estimates of Confederate strength varied from 2,500 to 10,000. General Stone's estimate, "about four thousand," was perhaps a slight exaggeration. Engaged, under command of Gen. Nathan G. Evans, were the 8th Virginia and the 13th, 17th, and 18th Mississippi. Since Confederate regiments, like Union, were seldom at full strength, this force probably did not exceed 3,000.

23. New York *Times,* Oct. 27, 1861.

24. *The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell,* ed. by J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton with the collaboration of Rebecca Cameron (Raleigh: North Carolina Hist. Com.), 1929-1936, I, 119.

25. San Francisco *Herald,* Nov. 22, 1861.

26. Adj.-Gen.'s rept., *Official Records, ibid.,* p. 308. One other casualty of Ball's Bluff was the late Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court – then lieutenant, 20th Massachusetts – Oliver Wendell Holmes.

27. Charles P. Stone to Lincoln, Oct. 21, 1861. Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

28. San Francisco *Herald,* Nov. 22, 1861.

29. *Ibid.,* Nov. 21, 1861. According to the New York *Times,* these alleged orders were first published in the New York *Chronicle.* They were addressed to "General" Baker, an error General Stone would surely not have made, and signed "Stone"; whereas his recorded dispatches are signed either "C. P. Stone" or "Chas. P. Stone." These points indicate that the "dash at Leesburg" order was a forgery. It is a striking example of the devices of trouble-makers, who sabotaged the war effort and the careers of competent men like General Stone. The identity of the forger is unknown to this compiler.

30. New York *Tribune,* Oct. 26, 1861. Colonel Baker's son repudiated this story, but it added fuel to a hot fire.

31. San Francisco *Herald,* Nov. 21, 1861 ("Our St. Louis Correspondence").

32. For a spirited post-war defense of Colonel Baker, see John D. Baltz, *Hon. Edward*

D. Baker (Lancaster, Pa., 1888). Of this book, Wistar says (*Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, p. 372): "The kind manner in which he has spoken of myself, renders criticism . . . so disagreeable . . . that I content myself with saying that I cannot agree with his conclusions." For a modern example of the wholesale survival of the controversy, *see* Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General* (New York, 1949).

33. General Stone, whom Wistar characterized as "an able, generous and loyal officer," was arrested, imprisoned for months, and was then released without having been formally charged, brought to trial, or given a chance to clear himself. Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar was the victim, he said, of "calumnious charges" by fellow officers Parrish, Ritman, Hicks, Grith, and Neall – all of whom ran foul of trouble and were cashiered. Captain Young was court-martialed for a petty offense, and dismissed from the service. Captain Berial complained that his character was "misrepresented to the President by enemies unknown." All these difficulties were born of the heated opinions and the intriguing produced by the battle of Ball's Bluff.

34. It is well to remember, however, that the same sort of underhand chicanery plagued the Confederacy. *See* Clifford Dowdey, *Experiment in Rebellion* (New York, 1946); also, James Truslow Adams, *America's Tragedy* (New York, 1935).

35. New York *Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1861.

36. *Official Records*, *ibid.*, p. 1027.

37. Wistar, *op. cit.*, pp. 303, 305.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 373.

39. New York *Times*, Oct. 23, 1861.

40. Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Oct. 23, 1861.

41. San Francisco *Herald*, Nov. 22, 1861.

42. Chas. W. Denison to Lincoln, Nov. 12, 1861. Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

Hannah Lloyd Neal

A "Literary" Philadelphian in Post-1853 California

By Marie Denervaud Dun

ON December 8, 1852, in Philadelphia, a wedding was in progress at the Orange Street Meeting House. Hannah Lloyd and James Neall, both members of the Society of Friends, were being married. The conversation among those gathered to witness the ceremony ran something like this: "Just think! They are going to California! Oh, not to stay; just for a few months; a year at the most. They will have their fortune then, and will come back."

The Lloyd home, No. 88 Union Street, was one of the literary centers in Philadelphia. Isaac Lloyd, the father, had died three years before. Of him, Whittier wrote: "From all that I knew of your honored parent, I have ever regarded him as a true strong man, fine in the performance of what he felt to be duty. . . ."[1] Of the Lloyd daughters, Ann, the eldest, was married. At home was Elizabeth – the "Lib" of the letters – the beauty of the family, also a poetess and friend of Whittier.[2] Sarah was the homemaker. Hannah, the youngest, wrote poetry and had, besides, an intense joy of life, which often found itself at variance with Quaker restraints.

For nine years, this wedding day had been in prospect – nine years, while the groom tried out first Oregon in 1846, then California in 1849, for he refused to take his wife into the unknown. Neall had had the land fever; he had had the gold fever; and he had recovered from both. Now, a flourishing commission business in San Francisco promised realization of his dreams of fortune. The ship from New York, bound for the Isthmus of Panama, was crowded with men, and had only a handful of women. There was a storm on the Atlantic, with great watery heights and depths; and when they reached the Isthmus, there were rocky heights and depths to be crossed. James Neall arranged that his wife should be carried in a hammock, as offering her the best possible comfort, but this involved moments when she found herself separated from the rest of the party, swinging along, alone, in the tropical forest to the trot of her native carriers. The only other woman who crossed in a hammock on that trip had been petulant and complaining from the first. On one occasion, a halt was called at a native village and both of the travelers were presented with a native drink. Hannah Neall pretended to drink hers, awaiting the moment when she could tip it over the side. Her companion sniffed at the cup, then threw it away in disgust. The march was resumed; and when the complainer recommenced her complaining, the natives dumped her down in the midst of the forest. Her husband, coming along in due course on his mule, found her in hysterics, and had to hasten back to the nearest village to procure a new outfit of less sensitive carriers.

At last, on March 23, 1853, came arrival in San Francisco. Hannah Neall sums it up in a letter written a year later: "I thought of that very day, one year ago! The old ship, and the storm – the Isthmus and the Pacific – the bright moonlight night of our sailing up the Bay; and then, dear Lib, the *Now!*"[3]

The first Christmas letter from the west is dated "12 mo., 25th, 1853," and faces the possibility that it might be "two years hence" before they could return home: "Dick's[4] idea of meeting each other two years hence in the dear old home is very pleasant, and I sincerely hope, by that time, or a little over it, our probation will be over. Our little home gets along rather more slowly than it otherwise would be in this fast place, owing to the dampness of the weather. With the high winds of summer to dry the plaster, we should have been in and settled by this time."

A new pioneer is expected. There are letters about just what kind of baby-clothes are to be sent out from Philadelphia – nothing of the right sort can be found in San Francisco.[5] Articles made at the "Ladies Depository" in Philadelphia are preferred. Minute descriptions are given of the best methods of packing. A wooden box, with tin inside; and "pack as closely as possible, for freight is from 45 to 60 cents a pound. No! – Jamie has just come in, and says it will be better to get a paste board box, the size thee wishes, pack the things in that, and then send it up to Sammy Day's, to be recased in tin."

The box failed to come on the steamer first expected. The next steamer day was due: "The cannon fired and the flag staff and the flag went up on Telegraph Hill about eight in the morning, while we were at breakfast, and as soon as I could choke down what was in my mouth, I exclaimed, There Jamie – there's my box. 'No, dear,' he quietly observed with a laugh, 'I think it is the steamer.' (Was it not an unfeeling jest, when he knew the clothes of his own blessed infant were probably on board?)."

All that day, James Neall made repeated trips to the express office, but there was no sign of the box. The maid of all work, Mary Anne, tried to be of comfort by remarking that there had been many people shipwrecked that winter. The cat displayed a realization of the importance of the occasion: "Mrs. Macawber also appeared to enter into sympathy with me, for being in an interesting situation herself, of course it couldn't be expected but what she'd know something of what the feelings of an expectant mother were, with not the first thing but one elegant little shirt!"

The next morning, the home letters arrived. "They all said the box was coming, and spoke of presents, and dear Sis told of a little shirt made wrong side out, by way of keeping her individuality before me, etcetra. Did we not read and enjoy, yet wonder and fear, lest some mermaid down below had opened a mermaid's depository, next door to Holmes' 'Pensive Oysterman,' for the sale of our blessed expected's very cloak and bonnet? Did I not fancy the scalloped blankets, tied round the heads of babies, half fish and half mortal? Did I not see a water sprite, sailing off in the shell of a nautilus, with . . . our phenomenon's small comb, 'a-combing her golden hair'!"

Hannah and James Neall are "resolved to make a fuss about it, if it is lost through carelessness, and Jamie thought I'd better memorialize Congress on the subject, and so, between fun and earnest, he started again in pursuit of it."

The afternoon came, and still no box. "Our friend Mr. Burns came in to make a call, and was expressing himself charmed with our darling little home, when I saw a dray driven to the door. Oh joy, here it was at last! But no; the man went next door, and I could really have cried. Presently, however, I saw him pass our door, open the gate, and walk in with IT. . . . Mr. Burns is usually an interesting man, but how stupid he suddenly became! And how he stayed! I could *not* help it, Lib, but I *did* wish with all my heart he would go; – which finally came to pass."

Every gift, every article, is described at length in the letter.

". . . and what *does* thee think Sammy Ray added as his share? Guess – can't – then, I *will* tell, although it was modestly addressed on the outside to Jamie, 'privately.' A piece of poetry, rather Hermaphrodite in character as it was adapted to either boy or girl, though the first section was strictly feminine. Of course, he didn't expect *me* to see it – modesty forbid the thought! – But I've put it and the little box of French toys together as mementoes of two of my bachelor friends. And doesn't thee think, Lib, that Marsh might very appropriately have come in as the third? Jamie has no more sense of propriety, tell Ell, than to want me to answer it! Isn't it a dreadful illustration of what the age is coming to, when bachelors address husbands on such occasions, and husbands cooly suggest answers?"

Time passes; the baby is born, a little girl, named Elizabeth after her grandmother, and called Lily. Two years later, there is a boy, James. The fortune still fails to materialize, but every year there are hopes.

"August 1855

"I sort of think we'll have a moderate fortune yet – if dear Jamie's usual 'luck' attends him. But when we'll come home, I cannot just now tell. As of course, I shall not leave him now."

An undated, close-written letter, presumably of this period, reads as follows: ". . . Our news is only of bankruptcies and the excitement of the 'Kern River Mines [1854-55],' a new diggings having been, according to report, discovered in the region of the Kern River, of the most fabulous riches. Aladdin's lamp, the fortune of Croesus, are mere nothings compared to the overabundant yield of the yellow ore; and all over the city are posters representing the value and richness of the 'claims' in that vicinity. Great white-topped wagons drive 'round the streets, having in large letters printed on them, 'FOR KERN RIVER.' Men are rushing off there by the hundreds, and the excitement is intense to catch the very marvelous accounts daily coming in. Some think it a 'Gold Bluff' story [Jan. 1851] – a repetition of the hoax there got up in order for speculators to sell off their goods (Quien Sabe?)

"I see Jamie with his usual impertinence has been reading my letter over instead of writing one of his own, and has put in a Spanish question, by way of displaying his erudition.

"We have no 'intellectual evenings' here, dear Lib, though sometimes Jamie and I make desperate attempts to be *literary* and talk books. Then, Baby's sure to cry in the midst, and we have to leap down from our pedestal in haste, and recommence at leisure. We see most of the new publications, and the periodicals can always be obtained if we wish them. There is plenty of reading matter here, and the Mercantile Library is in a flourishing state, persons becoming daily more and more convinced of its utility. I think by next winter there will be a regular course of lectures, connected with this Institution. There have been desultory ones, but generally speaking, they have been rather tame. Amusement is so much more popular than instruction, that audiences for the latter are rather slim."

Word from home arrives. "How it makes me long to come to you," she writes in September 1855, "and once again participate in the delights of social intercourse, from which I seem so shut out. Always remember to tell me of the '*who's*,' as well as the why's and when's. For my society is still in Philadelphia, and among its agreeable and gifted friends. . . ." She defines the different standards of the west: "The people here live in such a different sphere, from our accustomings. . . . Not that there are not intellectual and delightful characters here – but they take a different range; and, as I've often told thee, there's no literary turn in any of the women. I know thee dislikes the term 'literary,' but I use it in its broad sense; not Nicholsonish.[6]

"The sense of loneliness is not so pleasant to me either, as it once was. Whether it is because I have less to lean on in myself, or whether it is that I so lean upon Jamie that the house seems dreary without him, I know not. I don't think, Lib, my mind brings forth any more. It is a withered fig tree; whether the time of its resuscitation ever will be is a mystery. But I want to come home and test myself.

"Meanwhile, I gather up all I can with my eyes; . . . new pages of the world of nature open ever and anon for my inspection. The more I see of the strange wealth hidden away in our hills – and the stranger energies put forth to wrest it grain by grain from thence . . .the more I am impressed with the greatness of my kind, and the grandeur of Man's creation. All the hills and mountains, the rivers and plains, sink into insignificance, beside the commanding brain and muscle and nerve of man. It is indeed wonderful to see how the huge rocks are cleft, the hills split in twain . . . the rivers turned into channels, and the gold poured out all over the country. Think of the millions that have come from the heart of California!"

A year later (December 1856) sees her balancing eastern possibilities with those in the west: "There's too little basis for a fortune in the home offers. I think unless we get better ones, we shall remain here for a while. I have a sort of faith that Jamie will yet make his fortune — and *keep* it — for he has always made money, and now that the election is over, there will be more business going on."

A little over a year later finds her still reassuring her family. The letter is dated January 19, 1858, and says: ". . . But I think I shall see thee, nevertheless. The time must certainly come. I cannot believe our tarriance here will be so long as to obliterate the idea that my home is on the other side, on the broad Atlantic. I cannot sit easily down and learn to love you all only in memory; nor does my Jamie wish it. Business claims are at present paramount, but I trust in a realization of *hopes* which are large enough to give us a handsome competency."

"September 1858

"Lib, darling, I don't feel as though there was a great deal to tell thee, for we have sort of got settled into a regular system of living and doing things. We have occasional company — do occasional visiting — and occasionally my good friend Dr. Hardy takes me riding in his buggy. Now and then we go to church, and sometimes to a place of amusement; but underlying all the Outside here, and indeed, almost so the inner temple, is the hope of seeing and being with you once more. If we had left you *intending* to remain, I don't think I should have allowed this hope to have grown and borne blossoms; and the fruit, I sometimes fear, of disappointment only."

"June 1859

"And I? Lib, I don't think I am much changed in appearance, but I feel as if I was in my views and opinions of many things. And I long to measure myself with those I left, so as to test how much or how little I have altered; for that is the only true test, satisfactory to oneself.

"We quicken up here, into a sort of rapidity of growth, but I don't think after all, it is very good for us; it makes us sort of porous, and we don't solidify readily. I don't believe thee will understand just what I mean, but thee would, if thee could just peep in at our surroundings. I don't like the idea of the children growing up so restless and unsettled, as we are made by the necessity of circumstances. Everybody and everything is astir, so that any attainment of steadfastness would be a marvel. There is no continuity of anything; make an acquaintance, there is no opportunity for ripening the congenial spirit into a friend, for in nine cases out of ten, just as you are beginning to love them, they are flitting; perhaps to the States, perhaps to Frazer River [the rush began in 1858]; so you keep your affections within the narrow channel of your own family, or confine them to memories altogether."

She enlarges on the simple events that will give to her family a picture of her everyday life: "In the afternoons, I smart up a little in case of callers. One may drop in; as a rarity, perhaps even two, or there may possibly be a rush of *three*, but this is not common, you see. They talk about the latest fashions, about Dr. [W. A.] Scoot's last sermon at the fashionable church [Calvary Presbyterian Church]; laces and flounces, jewelry and ribbons, servants and housekeeping. And I only contrast some of these with the delightful morning callers at old 88 [Union St., Philadelphia], and then I fall to wishing, and sometimes, regretting. But only for Jamie's sake. Life is full of inequalities, however, dear Sis, and the sooner we can school ourselves to take things as a matter of course, the easier will our pathway of pilgrimage become."

The weather comes in for mention—practical enough until she gives it a poetic twist: "I really should like to experience a right good melting time once more, when lawn dresses and one skirt would answer for garments. We wear, we San Franciscans, nothing but silk dresses. Silks for summer, ditto for autumn, ditto for winter—always the same. 'Tis a great saving of trouble, but—white and lawns are beautiful. . . . Individually, I am independent enough to go in the streets in a two bit de-laine, and ride in a milk wagon, when it pleases my fancy to go out to the Aldriches, by way of saving a dollar of fare. I took Lil, and we went out yesterday.

"It was slightly overcast, and the mist was just lifting away from the hills, while it drooped still heavily over the water; and as I watched the graceful uprising of the great white spirit who keeps watch over our city, and saw its voluminous drapery flung about in strange and unearthly shapes, I did not wonder at the superstition of the Indians, who have a legend, as usual, connected with their beliefs. But it is too long, as well as too mystical for a familiar letter, so I'll e'en leave it for some winter night, when gathered with you again, I shall gossip of my—how many?—years in San Francisco."

In 1859, it seemed that the big opportunity had come. James Neall became president of the Bear River Water and Mining Co., an engineering scheme designed to bring water from the Bear River in the Sierra down to the foothills, for hydraulic mining operations. It meant staying a few more years in California. Realizing what the sacrifice meant to his wife, Neall insisted that she go home on a visit, and, in 1860, she was again in Philadelphia, this time with her two children. At last she could measure herself with eastern standards.[7] She was much in demand, and, refreshed, was back in San Francisco in six months.

She threw herself into the literary life of the Pacific coast, identifying herself with a group of writers who later contributed to the *Californian* and the *Overland*. But the Bear River Water and Mining Co. wasn't going well. The railroad was coming through. It was taking laborers away, and cutting across the company's ditch in many places. James Neall must be on the spot to direct operations. All their hopes were now in this venture, and there was no solution except to move to Auburn, a typical foothill town.

There is only one letter saved from this period:

"Auburn, January 8, 1864

". . . Over yonder is a glaring little Methodist church; a sprig of pine is stuck over the door, a melancholy pendant of the holidays. A little farther on is the church yard, grim and unadorned almost as a Quaker burial ground. And to the left, is a neighbor's house—*tan* colored—the idea of setting up such a vile color right against the golden bars of sunset! Well, taste does not reign triumphant here. We all have a countrified look. I am fearfully aware of it when I go to San Francisco. My last year's bonnet resembles an old arbor; efflorescent, it is true, with divers sprigs and sprays but they have a hollyhockish feel, when I get down where Fashion sits on a throne. And I never affected to despise the regal dame. It is essentially disagreeable to feel countrified. I never thought to arrive at such stupidity; but, indeed, Lib, I think I have a sort of look like mother's old aboriginal 'Polly Killwell,' the myth of my childhood. I fancy after grubbing round among pots and pans and kettles, my hands have a sort of spread-eagle look, as if the fingers wouldn't shut genteelly. Oh dear, I think it is splendid to be genteel and have five courses for dinner, and five waiters to bring them off and on! Our 'Ding' comes in after this fashion. 'You want him cup?' 'Yes, and . . . bring me that slice of ham on a plate.' He flies—he runs out of the dining room door . . . he returns beaming . . . and hands me the hammer on a plate!

"Sometimes I cannot help laughing,—at other, I wonder if the time will ever come when we can 'skedaddle' from this mountain home, and get into the civilization of cities. I'd especially enjoy Europe just now, after this taste of Nature. Which, after all, is not Nature to my way of thinking, for there is just enough marring of her beauties to give everything a distracted look. People go poking about with picks and hammers, and dig holes anywhere they please. This is 'prospecting'; and then, they never *bury* their disappointment, but let the great flaring cavities stand about in spots, to the detriment of mustangs and other wild cattle."

There were occasional visits to San Francisco; then back to the obscurity of her town in the foothills. Of the letters she received, only a few have been preserved.

LETTERS TO HANNAH LLOYD NEALL

From Thomas Starr King:

San Francisco, April 5th, 1862

My excellent and brilliant friend:

(I put excellent before brilliant, and I use friend not in the ecclesiastical sense.) Yesterday was a propitious day, for it brought to our household a baby and your letter, – son and sunshine. The little Starr (that shan't be his name) rose over our domestic horizon at five o' clock A. M., just as the morning Star, which I was watching from my library, was beginning to glow in the halo of dawn. The mother is doing well, and was cheered just now by your sparkling letter, which I read to her in her chamber. Alas, that so much of the sparkle of human power, like that of salt, is brought out by *fire!* I am sincerely sorry that any necessity is laid on your pen, but I rejoice that you can sing over it so cheerily. Heaven speed the day, when you can pluck from your fruitful pen enough to supply you with all the "help" you need!

I rejoice, my dear friend, that you think of trying your hand at interpreting the Pacific to the Atlantic; and let me say, without flattery, that if your papers prove as readable as your letters, the public will be grateful to the "help" that has disappeared, the cows that riot on your estate, and the mud that you turn to a better than geological account. When you print your sketches, and collect them into a volume, I speak for the first twenty copies.

. . . See how I bore you! It is because I am, as my good wife is, and bids me say she is,

Sincerely,
Your friend, Thomas Starr King

Do write me again. Why should you waste such ink as yours on the Atlantic alone?

Sept. 5th, 1862

Dear friend,

Your glorious letter has come, and has made me and my wife the more vexed that you so ill timed your visit to San Francisco. Why couldn't you have waited a month, so that we could have seen more of you, and have told you of our journey and its joys? But when *will* people become sensible? . . .

But why should I bore you with extracts, – you, who write so well about nature? Your "skeins of sunlight" in your letter beat anything I can do, in describing the mist canyons or upper opulence of color on Mt. Hood. . . .

Your description of the baby is charming. "Half angel half devil," truly, The angel he gets from me, the devil I leave his mother to account for. . . .

I am, with great gratitude for your letter,

Your friend, Thomas Starr King

At Mr. King's request, Hannah Neall wrote the hymn that was sung at the dedication of the First Unitarian Church.

San Francisco, July 17, 1864

My dear friend, – I sit down this evening after service, to write you a hasty line or two, which must commence with regret and disappointment that you were not here.

Last Sunday we had the Dedication to "The Father." Your hymn was thoroughly appreciated and enjoyed by the immense congregation. I have heard numberless eulogisms upon it and you, which have done my heart far more good than any personal praise has ever conferred. It was sung to very rich religious music, after being read by the minister in a manner that would have grieved your ears. Renewed and cordial thanks for it!

The House was jammed tonight in the Dedication to "The Son," which means the cause of humanity, of which the "Son of Man" is the representative. Streams of people went away unable to get a foothold in the building. Whittier's hymn was the Spire of the Service. I was in pretty good voice, and read it as well as I ever read or can read anything, which was inadequate enough. You will see how tender and sublime it is. And I hope you will like the printing of it, with which I took some pains, and which I think is tolerably good. The music in which it was enshrined was charming. It was varied, and thoroughly religious. Mr. [S. W.] Leach composed it, and wrote out the score for eight voices. I never saw an audience more thoroughly brought into Communion with the spirit of a Hymn than the congregation were with Whittier's aspiration and faith tonight. How can I sufficiently thank you, my friend, for the immense service you have rendered us in your two hymns — for Whittier's is also your contribution! We sang also Mrs. Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The chorus seemed an utterance from Sinai, with all the thunder pedals open. Do come down soon, and refresh us. Write to me. All of us send love to all of you. Think of me always as your sincere and grateful friend. (Whittier told me to say that your letters were always welcome, and that you will soon hear from him.)

From John Greenleaf Whittier:

Amesbury, 18th, 12th month, 1856

My dear friend, H. L. N.,

Some good angel put it in thy kind head to write to me, for thy letter which reached me last night, met with a welcome, second only in heartiness to that with which I should see the writer herself, from her long sojourn on the Pacific slope. Not but that it called up some sad memories; for who can look back over many years without them? But it recalled also, some of the deepest and happiest of my life's experiences, as I called up by its aid the group of friends in whose society I forgot that I was a stranger in a strange land. God bless them all!

. . . .

An old friend of ours, ——, is in your city. I had learned sad repute of him, but have lately heard that he has abjured the bad habit of drinking. He has very fine conversational talents; witty, brilliant, and not without a fine ear for the beautiful. If thou shoulds't ever meet him, remember Elizabeth and myself to him. If he is anything like what he used to be, his acquaintance would be amusing, if not profitable.

But I must close this long rambling letter. Give thy dear ones a kiss from their mother's friend, and with love to James, I am,

Ever thy friend,
John G. Whittier

Amesbury, 27th, 11th month, 1862

My dear friend, H. L. N.,

It gave us real pleasure to hear from thee, and I have felt grateful to thee ever since for thinking of us in thy far away home. I am, as thee knows, a poor correspondent, and dread to use pen and ink, but there are those, and I number thee among them, whose letters are always welcome. Somehow, E. and I got to like thee exceedingly in thy little visit at Amesbury; and among the angels whom we suspect we have "entertained," aware or unawares, thee has always a conspicuous place. How often we wish we could have thee with us again! . . .

I have not written such a long letter in weeks, yet this is but an apology for one. With much love from both of us,

Ever and with all heartiness, thy friend,
John G. Whittier

I miss many old friends here in Boston. Emerson, Field, and Longfellow especially, and at times, a feeling of great loneliness comes over me. Dr. Holmes and I meet often. Some of our gifted women are staying here this winter. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Celia Thaxter, Anne Field, Sarah H. Jewett, Lucy Larcom, and others.

I wish thee could be here for a few days, so that I could introduce thee to these nice people, whom I am sure thee would like, and know they would like thee.

I enclose my last photograph. Does it remind thee at all of the Editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman?

LATER YEARS

James Neall, in the final chapter of his journal, "Personal Reminiscences and Experiences,"[8] tells the story of the Bear River Water and Mining Co.: "I was compelled to throw up the sponge, and surrender to our creditor for the amount of his claims. Thus, after more than fifteen years of toil, vexation and the loss of everything, I retired to begin the world anew. It had been a hard and well fought battle, but the combinations were too heavy against me." (Today, the Bear River supplies irrigation to an extensive orchard region in the Sierra foothills.)

Back in San Francisco, Hannah Neall wrote untiringly. Her stories and poems were published in the *Overland Monthly* and other periodicals, and in newspapers; even if times were hard, at least she was once more in the heart of the "civilization of the cities," and felt herself capable of becoming a major source of family income.[9] She was a charter member of one of the first women's clubs — the Century Club of California. A friend of Susan B. Anthony and Anna Shaw, she was one of the first suffragists.

By way of conclusion is appended a last picture of Hannah Lloyd Neall, from her own pen. At the age of ninety-two, she wrote to her daughter and granddaughter, who were abroad:

San Francisco, May 10, 1909

My dear Lil and Marie,*

I was glad to get your letters this morning, and gladder we shall be to see you so soon, but I don't want you to hurry your plans.

I am beginning to see that I shall get ahead of this last fall, but it *is* painful, and I am unable to catch a breath of fresh air. You will see a change in me; old age is anything but pleasant. I hope to get about soon. If I could only cut round a little, I should feel very grateful. It *is so* stupid! I am going to write Caroline Scattergood as soon as I can, but I can't take up writing any. I am more or less discouraged, *and* I just hate to be old! I wish neither we nor the world ever got so many years. People do not enjoy the "muffled drums" of age. I'd like to hear the banging of drums as the years beat upon them.

I wish you could visit the Guerney's in London, if only for a call. They are so cultivated, and very elegant in manner and address. They were at our house often, and the desire to see them would gratify them. How much you would enjoy knowing them! We all loved Joseph John Guerney, and knew all the family by repute. Elizabeth Fry was world renowned for the work she did in English prisons.

I am glad Marie enjoys studying in Paris. Study seems like a great reservoir, always *full*, — and never running dry.

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*Marie Denervaud Dun, author of the present article. [Ed.]

NOTES

1. *Whittier's Unknown Romance — Letters to Elizabeth Lloyd* [*Mrs. Robert Howell*] *with an Introduction by Marie V. Denervaud* (Boston & New York, 1922), p. 10.

2. As in note 1 above; included in this volume are her discerning and stately lines, "Milton's Prayer of Patience." *See also* Thomas Franklin Currier, *Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers, a Budget of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), *passim.*

3. Hannah Neall's letters, written from California, and many of her personal papers, are in my possession. She was sometimes impressionistic in the dating of her letters home.

4. There were two sons in the Lloyd family — John and Isaac. "Dick" seems to have been a family friend.

5. Especially letter written Dec. 25, 1853.

6. Elizabeth Nicholson (daughter of Lindsay and Beulah Nicholson) was one of the Lloyds' group of friends in Philadelphia.

7. John G. Whittier to Mrs. Neall, Amesbury, Mass., 8 Nov. 1860: ". . . thy visit to A. was the pleasantest episode of our last year's life. . . . By-the-bye, Charles Sumner was pleased with thy call on him and evidently enjoyed it, as did also Dr. Holmes. . . ." *Whittier's Unknown Romance,* as above, p. 66.

8. James Neall's journal is in my possession.

9. *See,* for example, *Overland Monthly,* VII (Nov. 1871), 444; VIII (Jan. 1872), 33;

(April 1872), 381. The first poem in this list is called "November," and her name appears as author. The second ("Only a Dream"), and the third ("Transition"), are printed, as was the *Overland's* custom for poems, without mention of the author; but copies of them, marked as her work, are among her papers. *See also* Ella Sterling Cummins, *Story of the Files* (San Francisco, 1893), p. 165, where Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper is quoted as follows: "The first article that I ever read in the *Overland* was 'Spilled Milk' by Mrs. James Neall, whose exquisite humor bubbles out in all her writings, giving them a piquant flavor from beginning to end. 'Patty Dree, Schoolmarm,' and 'Placer,' are fair examples of her fascinating style."

A French Pessimist in California

The Correspondence of J. Lombard, Vice-Consul
of France, 1850-1852
Translated, with Introduction and Notes,
By A. P. Nasatir

(Continued)

[Lombard to Minister, 20 January 1851, *continued:*]

The mines — the keystone of the Californian edifice — no longer produce anywhere near what they promised in the beginning. I well know that certain persons will try to explain this fact by the absence of rain during the winter season, but this reasoning has no weight. If rainfall is lacking, why not continue to exploit the Wet Diggings?[29] And if these are renounced, one must admit that the efforts were fruitless. During my trip to the placers last September, I estimated the average per day and per man at about two *piastres.* This amount, so very small as it then seemed, has considerably lessened since; and today it is with great effort if an exceptional number of the men occupied in the quest of gold earn enough to suffice for their existence. As for the others — and they are the greater number — weakened by incessant privations, worn out by the heavy work and their health undermined by sickness, they are flocking back to the cities, and asking of public charity the elementary resources that this new style Eldorado has so obstinately denied them.

And[30] would to Heaven, Monsieur le Ministre, that this picture had been willfully exaggerated, for then I would not be obliged painfully to verify the cruel truth of the facts that I have the honor of bringing to your knowledge.

On account of this influx to the towns of people without occupation and without resources, the fulfillment of the mines has diminished in proportion. Commerce has felt the fatal counter-blow. And as for wages, however diminished they may be compared to those of six months ago, the absence of business transactions is so complete that five per cent of the workmen hardly find anything to do.

I need not tell you, Monsieur le Ministre, that in this general debâcle, it is our nationals that suffer the most cruel effects. Not knowing the language of the country, unable consequently to make themselves understood, they eke out their miserable existence in San Francisco, spreading in street corners and offering to the passers-by their last rags and their atrocious misery.

This spectacle makes the heart bleed, and one feels doubly moved when he thinks that these unfortunate Bohemians without fire or hearth, sleeping I know not where, and living one cannot say how, are, nevertheless, a model of good conduct for this floating population spewed from every corner of the world. I desired to know to what degree one could add to this exemplary morality. I went to official sources. I consulted the chiefs of police. And I found out with happiness that since the discovery of California, in the midst of thefts and murders which are being committed every instant, up to the present day, only one Frenchman had been arrested for theft. And if, from this inferior degree, I climb the upper steps of the social ladder, the facts to be registered are not of a nature more satisfying.

Upon the initial discovery of gold in California, the speculation fever took hold of every mind. The fabulous profits so complaisantly announced by the American press and reproduced by the newspapers of all countries – the masses of gold so easy to find that it sufficed, according to certain optimists, to bend down in order to pick them up; the immense profits made from one day to the next on goods of all sorts and especially land lots – turned every head topsy-turvy. Once in that strait, it was easy to foresee that the day was not far off when all these fantastic fortunes would crumble as speedily as they went up, and less than a year was needed for reality to demonstrate the emptiness of such phantasmagoria.

At that time, trumpets of fame sounded the airs of the California wonders. It was by millions of piastres that fortunes were counted and emigration by a hundred thousand men.

Even gambling houses would have complained of gains of less than one hundred thousand francs a day. Today everything is very much changed. The mines yield little or nothing. The towns of the interior are practically abandoned. San Francisco does not count twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Half the town is for rent and the other half is for sale. The lands have no buyers. Merchandise is rotting in storage or is sacrificed dirt-cheap. And as for the gambling houses, that criterion of public welfare in a country of adventurers and vagabonds – there are no gold ounces circulating on their greasy cloths, but simply réaux [reales]! One is deafened from morning till night by the sound of bells, announcing auction sales of all kinds of merchandise.

It would be too long, Monsieur le Ministre, to register here all the facts I have assembled to support the opinion I advance. May it be permitted me, nevertheless, to bring some of these to your knowledge. I did not look for them purposely; they have simply presented themselves to my observation. Here they are: There exists on Clay Street, a theatre built on the property of one of our compatriots and which is called Adelphi Theatre.[31] It had cost fifteen thousand piastres; it was sold six days ago for fifty piastres!

On Sacramento Street, a lot twenty-three feet frontage by one hundred and nineteen feet in depth, was bought approximately six months ago for twenty-seven thousand piastres. The proprietor had had built a spacious *house, with seven or eight rooms on the first floor. House and lot were adjudged recently for one thousand piastres!!*[32]

I will take the liberty, Monsieur le Ministre, to point out to you, that Sacramento and Clay streets are two of the best situated streets and the most commercial of San Francisco. A magnificent screw steamer—the *Chesapeake*, which had cost fifty thousand piastres, cost price in New York, was sold for five thousand piastres. And again it was a company, which is undertaking another quest for the golden fleece on the frontiers of Oregon, which acquired it.

This brings me to speak to you, Monsieur le Ministre, of a so-called discovery, made barely a month ago, of dunes or cliffs of gold (Gold Bluffs)[33] situated near the forty-second degree north latitude, on the Klamath River. The discoverers of this precious mine neglected nothing, in order to give the greatest possible publicity to what they found.

The probable products are *supposed* to reach several hundreds of thousands piastres for each associate, and every ship in port has left for the Gold Bluffs. Up to now, however, the advertising has not met with much success. One has not forgotten the lake of gold[34] and the problematical nuggets of the Sierra Nevada. Consequently, the public shows itself rather cold to the appeal made to it. Some people pretend that it is Gold Puff, and not Gold Bluff, one must read. Whatever the case may be, I await the results of this new discovery, and I will have the honor to transmit to you all the interesting facts which may come to my knowledge. Up to today, and by the chemical analysis which was made, this sand of the Bluffs was found to contain un sel de fer (titanate de fer) containing in fact some particles of gold, but so thin and sparse, that these floated on the surface of the liquid used in the analysis, which does not bespeak anything good for the future of the enterprise.

In the presence of such facts, what is the probable future of California? What transformation will it go through? And what part will emigration and French commerce be called upon to play in this transformation?

If it were regarding any other nation but the Anglo-American nation, the answer would be very easy. California, after having passed through a false and passing excitement, would relapse into the void and all would be said. But the Yankee is not a person to let go of his prey so easily. The placers being fruitless, he will then attack le quartz aurifère. If individual efforts are powerless he will transform them into collective efforts, and the joint stock companies will be substituted for the isolated workers.

In this second phase of the gold exploitation, the miscounts will be still greater than the first. The samples of le quartz aurifère, whatever the interested parties can say of them, are far from offering to those who will engage themselves in such enterprises the showy results that are hoped for. Their ruin is therefore nearly certain. But what of it? Colonization will have made another step. During this time, the last layers of the population, commercial or industrial, that are found in California, will have completed sinking. Consequently the place will then be cleaned out. Other emigrants will have established themselves on the ruins of the first comers, and all the securities will have suffered a proportionate depreciation.

It is then and only then, Monsieur le Ministre, that California, brought back into logical and reasonable channels, will begin to acquire a real importance by making San Francisco the general entrepôt of the commerce of China and the Indies with the United States and Europe.

The labors undertaken to render navigable the San Juan [river] and the Lake of Nicaragua in Central America,[35] and better yet the projected Railroad of Tehuantepec,[36] the construction of which according to the official reports will be pushed with the greatest activity, combined with the steamship lines which, in a more or less short time, cannot fail to be established between China and San Francisco, will make of this former fishing village a second New York of the Pacific.

When this transformation will be accomplished I cannot say exactly. The destinies of people, like those of individuals, are subject to so many aleatory chances that the one to predict such a date would be wise indeed. Still this is the goal to be reached and waited for, and, until it is reached, there will be only deception, ruin, and misery in this country. It is quite certain that not a single one of these men, until now attracted by the bait of an easy and prompt fortune, will ever compete for this new creation.

Everything that exists today must be replaced. The counter-blow of destroyed illusions must consequently be effaced in Europe. The exploitation by certain able ones, with the aid of vulgar lies, of the fortune of some and sweat of others, must be rigorously stopped, if not punished. The formation of new companies for the quest of gold [must] be formally forbidden as carrying fraud and being in practice unrealizable. And those who will finally decide to take the place of the actual population [must] be quite convinced that there is for them no other real future but in this order of things. Then our vessels, loaded with wines and liquors—the only French products, which together with our modes and Parisian articles, have suffered least in this general run for life of which we are witnesses today—after having found, not only here, but also on the entire coast of South America, an easy outlet, will be able to take to San Francisco proper a cargo, advantageous for France, of all Indian and Chinese products, which they are obliged to seek today, with great costs and [illegible], several hundred leagues away from California. There will be, then, both economy of time and money, without counting the possibility of supplying on their return voyage foreign products to the same ports in which, on the going trip, they unloaded French merchandise exclusively.

The establishment of a railroad joining both oceans at Tehuantepec, added to the feverish activity of the Americans, will result in the addition, to the route already existing via Cape Horn, of a second line of transit at great speed between Oceania and Europe, which line, shorter, and more prompt, and especially more economical, than that of Suez, is destined, within a given time, to deliver a mortal blow to English commerce in the Indian Ocean.

Monsieur le Ministre: Such are the general considerations which my studies of this country have suggested, and which I have the honor to submit to your enlightened estimation.

In another letter in the near future, I intend to consider the Californian question from the point of view of agriculture[37] alone. Up to now this country has been little, if at all, studied from this point of view. For that reason there have been many exaggerations, as much in regard to the incalculable wealth attributed to the soil as in regards to its absolute barrenness.

I dare hope, Monsieur le Ministre, for your benevolent indulgence for the efforts I am making to unravel the truth in the midst of the mass of errors and nonsense debited on this country scientifically or by ignorance, and in that hope, I am, with profound respect, [etc.],

The consular agent of France
J. LOMBARD

A Monsieur le Ministre, Secrétaire d'État au Département des Affaires Étrangères de France, à Paris.

IV

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey, February 10, 1851[38]

Monsieur le Ministre:

In the last report which I had the honor to address you, under date of January twentieth, last,[39] I tried to paint the actual situation of California in bold strokes from the point of view of the exploitation of the placers. Today I shall attempt to bring to light the resources which this singular country presents regarding agriculture, reserving for a special work the right to treat the question of the *mines properly so-called*, concerning which up to the present day there exists so little precise information.

Of late the general wealth of the soil has been exalted too highly, not because there are not magnificent results to be obtained from an intelligent cultivation at certain points, but because certain enthusiastic spirits, judging by inference and going from the known to the unknown, from their limited observations, have deduced a general theory, the application of which to the whole country only gives rise to grave mistakes.

During the trips which I had occasion to make into the interior of the country, I was able to convince myself of the fact that beyond the first chain of mountains which borders the sea, that is to say, from eighty to one hundred miles to the east, the dryness is such and the means of irrigation so null and void, that agriculture is totally impossible at these points. Luxurious and beautiful as nature is in the neighborhood of the coast, she appears downcast there. The trees are dried up, the plants are languishing or dead, and immense spaces of ground are entirely devoid of vegetation. The few ravines or brooks that are swelled beyond measure during the rains or snow-thaws, run encased in mountain gorges, on a bed of stone, in the midst of rocks and inaccessible precipices.

These observations which I obtained at first hand had not escaped the few intelligent men who, a long time before the discovery of the placers, had come to find fortune in these parts. Under Spanish domination first, and later under the Mexican government, immigration, as small as it was, had established its imprint in a restricted space having as its limits the Pacific to the west, and not extendng to the east beyond twenty leagues, approximately.

The vast Californian territory thus limited, I hasten to say, presents immense resources to the intelligent and sober workman. Here the means of irrigation are not lacking. The earth is virgin, the climate mild and salubrious, the prairies, green and abundantly furnished with pastures of all sorts. Wheat, maize, vegetables of all sorts and in certain localities, even vines and the olive tree, find their soil.[40]

Their wine does not possess all the qualities of the European wines. For example, the tonic contents, distinctive mark of our Burgundy wines, is entirely lacking here, and if it were possible to find for this wine its analogy in Europe, I believe I would be near to the truth by comparing it to the white wines of the Rhine, of which it has approximately the taste, without its being, however, so heavy. This is due to the small proportion of alcohol that it contains.

Since the taking possession of the country by the Americans, people have been given to criticize the apathy and indolence proverbial of the Californians. The newcomers were expected to transform this country by enchantment. To the land, until today uncultivated, were expected to succeed fertile plains. The age of gold was about to be reborn.

Nevertheless what have we seen for almost four years? We have seen thousands of dollars buried in the California sands without yielding profit, an almost general bankruptcy,[41] a state treasury empty; exorbitant taxes insufficient to fill the void; exactments of all sorts; masses of emigrants discouraged and ruined; organized robbery at almost every point; and, finally, a general discouragement following dreams of a thousand and one nights. And alongside these regrettable facts (but which were easy to foresee), appear, merging above this disaster, the same men of Spanish race, thrifty, and cautious, having guarded themselves well from the follies of their neighbors, and possessing today handsome enough fortunes; the only worth-while fortunes that really exist in California, fortunes acquired sous by sous, by the raising of cattle, the most profitable industry and, I would venture to say, the only one, to which this country seems providentially appropriate.

On account of the American emigration, the immense quantities of animals that are [were] raised on the ranchos for the commerce of pelts and tallow, were usefully employed for the alimentation of the new arrivals. The receipts were a hundred times greater. Today one cannot purchase an ox, that could have been obtained not more than six years ago for the modest price of two piastres, for less than from sixteen to twenty-five piastres.

In reality these are the men who have done magnificent business since the discovery of mines.

Nevertheless things cannot remain in this state for a long time. The conquered race, or to be more exact, invaded — as I cannot call conquest the occupation of this country by the Americans — the invaded race, much inferior in numbers, ill-treated daily by their new masters, charged with taxes out of all proportions, robbed by bands of adventurers who lay their hands on their herds and often also on their purse, finding justice nowhere but rapine everywhere; hasten to sell their cattle and grounds in order to go elsewhere to seek calm and security.

And in order to have a just idea of the state of things, permit me, Monsieur le Ministre, to illustrate by one lone example the too long series of analogous facts, which I have noticed since my arrival in this country.

There is in the neighborhood of Monterey a ranchero by the name of Pacheco.[42] This ex-Mexican officer, established in this country for more than twenty years, had acquired a very large fortune. Hospitable and good to all unfortunates, never a single one ever knocked on his door without returning satisfied.

Two months ago, fifteen to twenty Americans presented themselves at his home in broad daylight and demanded to drink. The good man hastened to satisfy their desires; but they had hardly entered than these bandits grabbed him and his family (women without defense), bound them, locked them up and, pistol on throat, ordered the old man under penalty of death to hand over his money. It was only common sense to submit to such a formulated request. In an instant, trunks, chests, boxes, everything was looted, visited, broken into and the band disappeared, taking with them a sum evaluated at more than fourteen thousand piastres (seventy thousand francs).

The police and justice are here just as they are in all other places, even in San Francisco; they remained peaceful spectators, and no attempt was made to find the culprits. One must say, however, that three days later, collectors of taxes presented themselves to this same man, ordered him under penalty of immediate sale of his rancho to pay, at that very moment, four thousand and some hundred piastres, the amount of his impositions!

(To be concluded)

NOTES

29. For information on "Wet Diggings," *see* Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 63.

30. Marginal notation by Minister: "Mr. Dillon is not quite of this opinion."

31. According to Frank Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 658, the Adelphi Theater was on Dupont St. near Clay. *See also* B. E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 148; *cf.* T. A. Barry and B. A. Patten, *Men and Memories . . .* (San Francisco, 1873), p. 35, who place the theater on Clay between Kearny and Montgomery. *See* P. Ch. de Saint-Amant, *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Oregon . . .* (Paris, 1854), pp. 460-61.

32. Italics represent penciled underlines in the original.

33. Concerning the Gold Bluffs excitement, *see* Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-14; Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850-75* (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 50-51, 125-26; and M. E. Wilbur, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush, Journal of Ernest de Massey . . .* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., *Sp. Publ. No. 2*, 1927), pp. 87 ff, 105 ff.

34. For "Gold Lake" episodes, *see* Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 393-94.

35. Bancroft (*History of Central America*, San Francisco, 1887, III, 694-98), gives information on the Nicaragua Canal project. The French archives abound in material, which has been calendared in Nasatir, *French Activities in California*, *op. cit.*, *passim. See also* Samuel Flagg Bemis, ed., *American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy* (New York, 1927-29), especially Vol. VI; and M. W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy* (Washington, 1914), *passim.*

36. The same comments about the abundance of archival material (*see* preceding note), likewise the fact of their having been calendared, apply to the subject of the Tehuantepec railroad. *See also* J. M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York, 1932), pp. 189-212.

37. Lombard's letter to Minister, February 10, 1851 (Document IV in present series), treats of agriculture.

38. Ministerial notations:

To Commerce, May 2, 1851. Have we communicated the preceding report on M. Lombard?

To the Direction des Fonds extrait du d^{r}.

39. Document III of present series.

40. On California agriculture, *see* Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 861-83. There is an abundance of material on the subject.

41. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 604 ff, discusses the bankruptcy situation then existing.

42. *Ibid.*, IV, 763, for mention of Pacheco.

Putting a Lid on California

An Unpublished Diary of the Portolá Expedition
by José de Cañizares
Translated and edited by
VIRGINIA E. THICKENS
and
MARGARET MOLLINS
(Continued)

March 26

In the morning holy Mass was said, and about eight o'clock we were told that a Christian Indian was very sick. The father went to see him, and, at the same time, to try to confess him. Being unsuccessful in this he absolved him, and under these circumstances the Indian died at eleven o'clock. Because of this occurrence and the fact that we found sufficient pasturage to refresh the animals, we decided not to leave until three o'clock in the afternoon. Starting at that time we traveled over a route to the northwest by west, and then we swung to the west-northwest. Having advanced about three leagues over level country, we arrived at half past six at an arroyo called Los Mártires,[43] where we found pools of water and abundant pasturage. Along the road we saw hares and the tracks of lions in some hills which must be about a league and a half from San Juan de Dios (by the route which we took). According to what the experts said, there appeared to be rich minerals. It is certain that there was a beautiful view, although the land was just as barren as on yesterday's journey. The captain posted his men to watch the camp and the animals, and nothing in the least eventful happened.

3 leagues

March 27

In the morning the holy sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and about seven o'clock a heavy shower of rain began to fall. It lasted until two in the afternoon, when the captain ordered us to get ready to proceed on our journey. We started at two-thirty, traveling west-southwest along the course of the arroyo. About four o'clock it began to rain just as heavily as in the morning, and after traveling about two leagues we realized that we would have to make camp because it kept on raining. At six o'clock in the evening we stopped in the same arroyo of Los Mártires, which is several leagues in length and runs toward the west coast of this peninsula. We found some pools of water and, nearby, enough pasturage for the animals. The barrenness of the land continued. Nothing eventful occurred, and the captain arranged his men as he had done on the night before.

2 leagues

March 28

Holy Mass was celebrated in the morning, and we did not set forth as it was still raining. We were told that two Christian Indians were very ill, so the father attended them and administered holy extreme unction. The sick men were in a serious condition, and this was a sufficient reason for our not leaving this place in the afternoon. We stayed here without any other unusual occurrence, thanks be to God!

March 29

At five o'clock in the morning we were told that one of the two Indians who had received extreme unction yesterday had died and that three more had fallen ill. This aroused the captain's suspicion, so he ordered all the Indians to assemble, urging them to continue on such a holy expedition as ours, and not to assume that those who had died had done so as a result of joining our enterprise. When these words had been interpreted we left the sick ones to make their way back to Villacatá, the captain realizing that the nearest place was that frontier mission. At ten forty-five we set out from this camp site toward the west-northwest. At half past eleven we left the arroyo, climbing an ascent which continued along the above route. We arrived, without changing our direction, at three in the afternoon at the Arroyo de las Palmas, a name which was given to it by the Jesuit fathers.[44] This arroyo had some willows, and as we had found no water, we made camp at three-thirty on its banks. Four soldiers were sent out to look for water, and they returned about sunset and told us that a league away (following the course of the arroyo along the west bank) there was a very good water hole. In its vicinity there were arable lands with enough pasture and many willows, but the water soon disappeared into the ground.

Because the water was so far away, and since there had been none during the morning's journey, the captain decided not to leave this camp site until tomorrow afternoon so that the animals might have enough to drink. Three of the sick Indians whom we had left in the Arroyo de los Mártires arrived in camp. They said that after we had left, ten heathen had descended upon them, and their fear of these heathen had caused them to return to us. The other two had gone on to Villacatá. It is probably three leagues from here to Los Mártires. Nothing else happened, and the captain gave the same orders as on the night before.

3 leagues

March 30

The day began without any unusual occurrence, although there was an extremely heavy fog. At noon I took the latitude of this camp site and found it to be 30° 50′.[45] At half past twelve we began to get ready, and at one-thirty we left this camp site, going toward the north, but because of the detours which the hills forced us to take, we swung to the northeast. At half past five in the afternoon we arrived at a camp site called El Alamillo de la Tinaja,[46] where the only water to be found was in some pools. The whole road was very difficult because of the many barrancas along the way, and the land continued to be barren and covered with thorns and thistles. The captain sent four soldiers to see if there was water in the place called La Tinaja, and they came back with the news that there was water, but that it disappeared after a short distance. At sunset two natives arrived in camp, one a woman and the other an old man, to whom we gave beads. Here, the Indian women are dressed more properly than those we left behind, for they cover themselves modestly with strings of reeds which serve them as skirts, and with the skins of various animals they make shawls to cover their breasts. From the Arroyo de la Palmas to this camp site it is three leagues. Nothing more happened, the captain giving his orders as on the previous night.

March 31 3 leagues

At dawn the horses were rounded up, and at seven-thirty we left camp, traveling to the north and then swinging to the northwest. At eleven o'clock we arrived at the Arroyo de los Alamos, which was given its name on the last expedition[47] because of the many trees of this species which adorn it. As soon as we started we began to climb some hills, and, in a plain near the place from which we set out, we saw a *ranchería* with eleven crudely built houses, but there were no people. After traveling about two leagues we saw a large fire and some natives running along the hills, and, accordingly, the captain sent four soldiers after them. They brought back three children and an old woman to whom we gave some beads. The Christian Indians went up the hill where the natives were, and at the top they saw ten of them. They followed these at their request, and, when they had caught up with them, the heathen gave them four tierces of *mescal* for the father. Along the road we saw some well-pastured spots, but no water. On this day's journey the country began to open out. It was covered with some trees called junipers, and we seemed now to have left the thistles behind.

The appearance of this Arroyo de los Alamos is beautiful. Because of the trees which clothe its banks, and the presence of rabbits, goats, and deer, and brightly colored birds, it is a delightful spot for a house. But amid all this verdure the greatest need is for water, for in order that the animals might drink, it was necessary to dig a water hole. From El Alamillo de la Tinaja to this camp it was about three leagues.

April 1 3 leagues

At half past seven in the morning we left this camp of Los Alamos, traveling straight north, the captain going ahead with ten soldiers to see if there were any natives at the next camp site. We traveled all the way over level country, and at twelve-thirty we arrived at a place called La Cieneguilla (the farthest point reached by the Jesuit fathers on their expedition),[48] where we stopped because the captain was waiting for us, and there was plenty of pasturage. Almost all the way from Los Alamos to this camp there was water in marshes. Nothing unusual happened, and the orders which the captain issued to his soldiers for the night were carried out.

April 2

In the morning six soldiers left to see if they could find some natives who could direct us to a watering place so that we might continue our journey. They returned at nine o'clock bringing three heathen Indians. To one of them we gave some beads and sent him ahead to tell his people that we were coming and that we would do them no harm. We could not leave today because last night a soldier had become ill, and his condition was very serious. We remained here the rest of the day without any unusual occurrence, except for a fog that kept me from taking the latitude of this camp site.

April 3

At nine forty-five in the morning, with the information that the natives had given us, we set out from this marsh along the edge of the Sierra Madre, going north-northwest and then northwest. At two o'clock in the afternoon we came to an arroyo which we dedicated to San Ricardo, and we camped with much inconvenience because the arroyo was very deep and narrow.[49] Along the road we saw three water holes, plentiful grazing land, and a great many trees — pines, cottonwoods, willows, alders, and junipers. According to what the experts said, some of the hills seemed to have indications of rich minerals. From La Cieneguilla to this Arroyo de San Ricardo it is three and a half leagues. Nothing unusual happened, except that as soon as we arrived a native ran away from us. The captain arranged his men as on the night before.

3½ leagues

April 4

At ten o'clock in the morning we set out from this camp and took a route to the northwest by west. In spite of the many windings which the narrowness of the arroyo made us take, the trail by which we left was still very rocky. About half past twelve we climbed a hill from which we saw a very beautiful valley. We reached it at two-thirty and pitched camp in the shade of a leafy cottonwood whose trunk was two varas in diameter. This valley was dedicated to San Ysidoro and it had sufficient water for crops.[50] From San Ricardo to this valley of San Ysidoro it is four leagues. Nothing unusual occurring, we carried out the nightly orders which the captain gave to his soldiers.

This valley runs from northwest to southeast, and, on taking the latitude, I found it to be 31° 28′ north latitude. There are many willow, alder, and cottonwood trees in it, and it is an appropriate site for founding a mission, because it has a great deal of moist, arable land. Besides this, there are two small rivers rising in the nearby Sierra Madre which branch out from the two sides of the valley and join in the middle. Here much arable land can be irrigated, and cattle can be raised.

4 leagues

April 5

Six soldiers went out to scout the land and look for a water hole for the next day's journey. They returned at sunset and reported that this valley, where we were, extended for more than four leagues, with a water supply all the way. They had seen a fair-sized river, and it seemed improbable to them that it could fail to empty into the sea on the west coast. All of this gave us hope that we could travel tomorrow. At half past four this afternoon an Indian from Santa Gertrudis mission died, after having confessed and received holy extreme unction.

April 6

This Indian was buried, and the captain went out with six soldiers to cut a trail through a bad stretch over which we had to travel. At eight-fifteen we left camp, taking a route west by northwest in order to get around a barranca which lay in our path. We passed by it and entered the Arroyo de San Ysidoro, and at half past twelve we stopped and made camp in the same arroyo. All the way along this arroyo we traveled generally west, swinging south and sometimes north because of the many turns which we had to make. There are some good plots of land which can be cultivated, the only defect being that the water is brackish and unpleasant to the taste. However, the stream becomes larger and runs more rapidly after two other little creeks flow into it.[51] There are many oak, cottonwood, and willow trees, and some mesquite. From San Ysidoro to our camp on this arroyo it is three leagues. We stayed here and carried out the captain's orders for the night.

3 leagues

April 7

In the morning the captain left with six soldiers to scout the journey for tomorrow. He returned with the news that he had seen a fair-sized river about two leagues away, that in the hills near it he had seen many wolves, and that the river wound around in the interior of the Sierra Madre. These hills, according to indications, seemed to have minerals. We stayed here, taking the necessary precautions.

April 8

We set out at eight o'clock in the morning at the gait of the pack animals, from the arroyo which runs down from San Ysidoro. We took a north-northwesterly route and, having traveled about a league, we came upon what they had called the river, but it lacked many requisites for such a description.[52] Nevertheless, it might be given that name considering the streams that one sees in the Californias, for they are all like this one, which, besides being of fair size and turbulent, races down with great speed from its source in the Sierra Madre. There are plenty of oaks, willows, alders, and live oaks, but what the place lacks most is arable land, for the stream is so completely enclosed and surrounded by hills that there is not room for its waters to spread out when they reach the foothills. In the two leagues which we traveled along it, we had to cross it thirteen times, and in places its width must be two, three, eight, or even ten *varas*. It divides into several branches, and in them the water runs just as rapidly. As soon as we came to this river we turned west by northwest, and at twelve-fifteen we camped at the foot of a leafy live oak that stood at the edge of the river. We did not know whether or not there would be any land appropriate for the establishment of a mission near the seacoast. At two o'clock in the afternoon the six soldier scouts left to explore the country and to look for a route for tomorrow's journey. We experienced nothing unusual except concern for the scouts, who did not return. From the camp that we left this morning to this one, which was dedicated to San Dionisio, it is probably three leagues. The captain arranged his soldiers in the same order as on the previous nights.

3 leagues

April 9

At ten o'clock the scouts returned and reported that the river narrowed down and that the going became difficult. They had seen an arroyo where we could camp, but it would be necessary to cut a trail. For this reason the captain decided not to leave until the next morning. I took the latitude of this river; it is in 31° 32′. Nothing else occurred except the carrying out of the orders given by the captain for the night.

April 10

The holy sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated as on the day before. The captain left in the morning with eight soldiers to open a trail, and at nine o'clock we started out toward the west and then swung north. After traveling about a league we came to the foot of a hill where we had to stop to give the soldiers time to finish the trail, which they were opening with a great deal of difficulty. At eleven o'clock we climbed the hill and saw a stream in which there was plenty of water. We reached it at one o'clock in the afternoon, and pitched camp.[53] At four the captain went out with six soldiers and returned at six, reporting that the terrain was beginning to open out. At this time two Indian women and three children came to the camp, and they were given some beads and sent on their way. This stream was dedicated to San León; from San Dionisio to here, it is three leagues. Nothing eventful occurred except that the captain pointed out the precautions that the soldiers should take.

3 leagues

April 11

In the morning we were told that one of our Indian interpreters was dangerously ill. This kept us from leaving, so at noon I took the latitude of this arroyo, which is 31° 35′. At half past eleven the Indian who was sick died, and at one-fifteen we set out toward the northwest and then swung to the west. We crossed a hill, and, entering a level stretch of country, we continued our west by northwest course. At five-thirty in the afternoon we climbed a hill on which we camped because there was a little water hole nearby.[54] A native came to see us here, and, after he had stirred up one of our Indians, both of them deserted during the night. We traveled three and a half leagues to reach this camp site. Nothing of note occurred, and the people were arranged as on the night before.

3½ leagues

April 12

At six-thirty in the morning we left this camp to look for water, following a southwest route, for the many gullies along it gave us hope that we might find some. At eleven-thirty we stopped on a mesa, and six soldiers went out to look for water. They returned and reported that they had found some, but that it was necessary to dig a water hole. They took the animals to the water and returned at nightfall. The road we followed to get to this camp site[55] ran through wide plains, and we must have traveled about three leagues. Nothing unusual happened, and we carried out the captain's orders.

3 leagues

April 13

At a quarter to ten in the morning we set out from camp, taking a north-northwesterly route. Traveling at the pace of the pack animals, we arrived at two o'clock at a wide valley, but there was no water. The entire road we traveled passed through hills near the southern coast. Although the land was still barren, the mescales we found here helped us out, because, although this was our Indians' main food supply, they had not had any for six days. We made camp half way through the valley,[56] and the scouts went out to see if they could find water at the northern end. They returned at sunset without having found water, and with the news that they had gone more than two leagues in that direction. I estimate that it was four leagues from the last camp to this one.

4 leagues

April 14

The day began without any unusual occurrence, and the scouts went out to see if they could find water at the western end of this valley. At noon I took the latitude, which was 31° 43′. About one o'clock the scouts returned to see if the captain wanted us to go to the water hole they had found. He inquired about the country, and, realizing our need and the fatigued condition of the horses, he decided to do so. We left at half past four, going southwest by west. Night fell before we reached the water hole, and, as we were traveling through unknown territory and had never before traveled as late as this, the captain ordered the guard which was accompanying us to arm themselves for war by putting on their leather jackets and getting their weapons ready. With this precaution we traveled until nine in the evening, when we came to the place of which the scouts had spoken. We made camp, and nothing unusual happened, the captain's orders for the night being carried out. It was probably four leagues from the last camp to this one.[57] A night guard was placed on the horses for fear they might drink too much water during the night.

4 leagues

April 15

In the morning the camp site was inspected, and the captain decided not to leave today because there was plenty of pasture for the animals to recover from the hardships of the past four days. I examined the watering place, which was a very large pool stretching from northwest to southeast. Its depth appeared to me to be about twenty-four codos, and there were turtles and whitefish in it.

We dedicated this camp site to San Telmo. If the water in this pool could be utilized, it might be sufficient to irrigate land enough to produce thousands of fanegas[58] of grain. There is a great deal of alkali on the banks of the pool, but aside from this, there is plenty of land which has none and is suitable for cultivation. At noon I observed the latitude and found it to be 31° 35′, which was less than that of the place from which we had come, because of our having made the journey southwest by south. In the afternoon the captain set out to explore the country, and he told me that in this valley, which wound its way toward the west coast, there was an abundance of water which irrigated a large area of fertile land. He said also that it had so much moisture that it would be a very fine site for a mission, if we should succeed in the objective of our undertaking. From the top of a high hill he had seen the ocean, and it appeared to him that near the valley there was an opening. This place is very fertile, and it has beautiful trees. Nothing else happened, beyond the observance of the captain's nightly orders.

April 16

In the morning Mass was said, and at eight-thirty we left, going to the north-northwest, which was possible because the terrain opened out on the tops of the hills. At half past one we arrived at another very well-pastured valley where there was some alkali. This place we dedicated to San Raphael. A little before our arrival the soldiers ran after some natives and succeeded in capturing an old man who was so extremely arrogant that we were all disgusted by his actions, for they showed him to be nothing but an old witch doctor. Having arrived at the valley, the scouts brought four natives, two women and two males, one of them a child. Although the women seemed to be more gentle, we observed in the man the same fury as in the old man, for in a fit of anger he yanked out bits of his hair. Accordingly, the captain (so that they might not think we would try to harm them) gave some bead knick-knacks to the old man and the two women, sending the latter to their rancherías.

It was seen that the opening of this valley ran toward the shore.[59] We saw a pool of fresh water and, a little farther down, a small stream which ran along the surface of the ground for about fifty varas and then disappeared. According to those who know about such matters, this is a very fine place for a mission. The soil is moist enough for planting several fanegas of grain, and there are some alder, cottonwood, and willow trees here. Today we traveled north and northeast about three leagues to reach this valley, and although we could not inspect these places lest we delay our journey, they appeared to be better toward the west coast. The modesty of the Indian women was the same, and the native who remained in our company was painted so red that he looked like a devil.

3 leagues

(To be concluded)

NOTES

43. They were moving from arroyo to arroyo in the hope of finding water. This arroyo of Los Mártires was one of the southern branches of Río del Rosario, and at this point they were probably north and east of the present site of Los Mártires.

44. Today this arroyo of Las Palmas is called Cañon de las Palmas and forms the northern branch of Río del Rosario.

45. This is one of the two times when Cañizares and Crespi agree in their calculations on latitude.

46. Still in the Cañon de las Palmas, they were some eight miles over the hills to the west from El Portezuelo.

47. On Father Linck's journey. The Arroyo de los Alamos was the one that runs down from Sierra San Miguel to empty into the Bay of San Quintín at San Simón. Rivera's party was probably some seven or eight miles west of El Rosarito.

48. It was at this point that Father Linck turned east toward the Gulf of California. According to Crespi, this information was supplied by some of Rivera's soldiers who had been on the Linck expedition. They camped somewhat east of Paraiso and La Julia mines. Next day Cañizares notes that the hills appeared to be rich in minerals. This prediction seems to be justified by the numerous mines that dot the hills to the west.

49. Probably on the southern branch of Río Santo Domingo.

50. Because of the difficulty of the trail, Cañizares probably overestimated their leagues for the day. Their valley of San Ysidoro must have been near present-day San Isidro.

51. These were probably arroyos El Caballo and Alcatras which flow into Río Santo Domingo.

52. This was the junction of Arroyo San Antonio with Río Santo Domingo.

53. Camp was on the northern branch of Río Santo Domingo, now called Arroyo Valladares. Crespi's interpreter, Manuel Valladares, was buried here.

54. This may have been Aguaje del Sauce.

55. In one of the gullies to the southwest of their previous camp.

56. Eight or ten miles east of present-day San Telmo.

57. Close to the present site of San Telmo.

58. A fanega was the Spanish equivalent for about two and a half bushels, or, in land measure, about nine acres. For variations in the equivalents of these units, *see* J. N. Bowman, "Weights and Measures of Provincial California," this QUARTERLY, XXX (Dec. 1951), 318-24.

59. On Río San Rafael, somewhat above Valle de San Rafael.

Stephen Hodge Mann, Stockton Pioneer

*Based on His Correspondence, 1848-1864**

STEPHEN H. MANN (born March 18, 1825, at Wells River, Vt.) was of the eighth generation in descent from Richard Mann of County Cornwall, England, and Scituate, Mass., where he had taken the "Oath of Fidelity" on January 15, 1644. Stephen's father was Ira Mann, Jr. (born Dec. 14, 1797, at Orford, N. H.; died April 16, 1872, Pittsford, N. Y.), who, in 1820, had married Mary Bacon, then twenty years of age. She died on March 30, 1825, just twelve days after her son's birth. The boy was adopted, as their own son, into the family of Stephen and Lydia Hodge of Landaff, N. H. In 1844-45, he attended Newbury Seminary, Newbury, Vt., taught school the two following winters, and the spring of 1847 found him pursuing his education at St. Johnsbury Plains, Vt.

But, when the first of November came, he left his home in New Hampshire and started westward via Albany, N. Y. A letter, dated at Galena, Ill., a year later (Nov. 26, 1848) and addressed to his brother-in-law and sister, George and Mary Jane Barker, in New Hampshire, gives the reader as good an idea of himself as of his journey; it also gives an idea of how the word "West" changed its geographic situation almost daily.

"After arriving at Albany," says Stephen Mann in this letter, "I took passage down the North River to N. Y. From thence to Philadelphia, Baltimore, and then to Pittsburgh, the city of steam as it is called and that rightly, I think, as everything is made by steam, some say, even to the children, by their complexion."

From Pittsburgh he went down the Ohio, in leisurely fashion – leisurely, because he "found many things to see" on the way; besides, they were "laid up four days by the boats a breaking near Wheeling" – to Cincinnati ("the queen city," he calls it, "of the West"). The news from the northwest corner of Illinois, in which Galena lies, he gives as: "They say that at the present a person can go from Galena to Boston in seven days when the R. R. is finished to Canada, as distance makes no difference to the R. R. . . ."

After he reached Cincinnati, he "went to peddling," as he expresses it in the same letter:

> I bought my goods at auction and by that means made very well on them, but, as the laws of the state were rather hard on peddlars [*sic*] as for license, I thought I would trade, in something that I could go where I was a mind to. Then I went to peddling oil cloths, maps, books, etc. which was very profitable and gave me a chance of seeing as much of the Great West as most any one, but at last I was landed sick on the Father of waters, as the Mississippi is called. Since that time I have not made much but we must

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*These letters are now in the possession of Mrs. James A. Barr, of Oakland, California.

> take things as they come in this country. I had some thoughts of going out West (as they call it here, that is, out on the Missouri) this fall, to buy furs of the Indians, as it is called very profitable, but the sickness ["bilious fever," the worst disorder, he thought, in the Western country] I have had will prevent me. You may begin to think that I am growing rather unsteady, but Stephen [himself] is still trying to get a living.
>
> Perhaps you would like to know something of the soil of the Fair, Famed West and whether the stories are not exaggerated. I think the description that they give of it is no more than true. The land is most excellent. . . . But, of all the Western country, I think that the State of Iowa beats them all. Certainly it does in the number of its emigrants as thousands are usually swarming to that State. . . . the land is quite rolling, springs and timber a plenty, but, after all the riches of the West, I think that if any one is well off in the N. E. states, they had better stay there and be content.

Another letter, dated from Jackson, Stephenson County, Ill. on January 20, 1850, to the same relatives, tells them how he had been supporting himself:

> In the summer I worked at the old trade of farming which is the most pleasant employment that a man can follow in this country. . . . They carry on the farm here with no labor at all compared with the tedious process of farming in N. E. I thought it would be a great sight to see the reaper drawn by horses travelling through the fields cutting the 20 acres per day, followed by the thrasher which would thrash as they travel, but they are as common as the hand cycle. I guess it would make you stare to see the engine travelling through the fields of beautiful wheat reaping and thrashing as they go. For all the advantages of the Fair, Famed West, I think if I had a wife and children in N. E. that I should stay where they are. . . . This winter I am teaching a small school in the same district that I worked through the summer, which shows that I have not behaved as badly as I might have. . . . Perhaps you may have formed the opinion that it would not be very pleasant teaching out here where they are so rude and ignorant, but I tell you from experience that it would be difficult to find as fine, intelligent pupils as I have this winter even in Vermont. There are forty pupils and I have kept nine weeks. . . .
>
> Our railroad is progressing finely but not as fast as the Northern through your place [New Hampshire], I presume. . . .

Eleven months later (Dec. 8, 1850), we find Stephen Mann, still in Illinois, writing to his sister from a settlement called Florence:

> . . . I am at the present residing in nearly the same place that I first came to in Stephenson County. I worked at farming this summer but this winter they have got me into the school house again, one mile north of where I taught last winter. I thought last winter that I would never teach school in this county again, the reason being the houses are very poor and the wages extremely low. . . . To contrast their miserably constructed Log Cabins for school houses with the commodious ones you have in the East, no wonder it makes one rather sick of the business. I receive $16.00 per month for teaching 50 pupils and upwards. The pupils are as smart and intelligent as you could scare up in the N. E. states. . . .
>
> On the whole I like this country very well but if I was back in N. H. or Vt., pleasantly situated, I think that I should never move out here to better my situation. . . .

In the next letter, dated "Opposite Fort Laramie," June 24, 1852, to the same relatives, he is actually on his way to the west as we know it. So far, they had lost but one man from their train, consisting of 8 oxen, 2 cows, a covered wagon and tent, which, he says, "makes a complete outfit for crossing the plains." People, making the trip, see "some heart rending scenes. It is a frequent occurrence to pass by where they are in the last stages of life. The disease is commonly called Cholera. . . . Some die in 2 or 3 hours after being attacked." His letter continues:

> . . . with all the hardships we have some jovial times. We have Fiddles, Drums & Fifes in our train, first rate men & some beautiful Girls. . . . We have game in abundance such as Buffalo, Antelope, Elk, Deer, etc. The largest droves of Buffalo are some distance from the River. The largest seen this season numbered 500 as near as they could tell.
>
> We have passed through tribes of Omahaws, Pawnees & we are now among the Sioux. We have had no trouble with them as yet. Some trains have been attacked by the Pawnees & had tolerable hard fighting. I presume the Whites were as much to blame as the Indians. Small trains the Indians wont bear insults from in their own country but large trains they are compelled to submit to.
>
> As I said before we have company in abundance. I expect there is not a road in the Union that has as much travel on as the one to California. It is calculated that there are teams enough to make it compact one team after another ½ the way to California, so you see instead of being out of the world as you may say we are right in the tumult and bustle.

Nine months pass and he is writing, at last (March 21, 1853), from California, from the town of Auburn. He arrived, he says,

> in the settlements of California (after a toilsome journey across the Plains of 5½ months) the twelfth of Sept. [1852] and shortly commenced mining on the North Yuba in Sierra Co. The mines in that section of the country are quite rich in deposits of the precious metal. I bought a claim in the river bed which I think would have proven tolerably rich if we could have worked it. Shortly after I bought, the rains commenced and we were obliged to abandon the enterprise which was a material loss. I left that place Dec. 6th and came down to Auburn, Placer County, near the American River where I still remain.

He had done "tolerably well" for that section of the country — the mines were not so rich as in other sections, but provisions were more plentiful. The winter of 1852-53 had been the hardest, he said, ever known in those parts, but at the time he was writing the weather was "most delightful. The earth is overspread with flowers and green herbage which are as far advanced as they are in the N. E. states the same day of the month in June." People in the mining area were compelled, he said, "to frequently change their locations on account of the deep snows which fall on the mountains. It is not hard for a person to suit himself to climate in this country. In two or three days travel a person can pass from a country where it is perpetual winter to where it is pleasant and delightful during the whole year. . . ."

When he would be able to visit his friends in the Atlantic states, he could not tell:

> It will depend upon my success here. . . . If I should not be successful here and Australia should prove as rich as represented, the next you hear from me will be that I have started for that country. . . . You may think that I am most too much excited after the bewitching commodity. I think we might as well have it at once as to be toiling and laboring for it for years which nearly every one does. The largest lump that I have seen

> since I have been here was found on the Yuba which weighed 26 pounds. A man found a lump near this place which was valued at $1500, but these are very rare chances. The largest lump that I have found was worth $6.00. We have found several of this size when at work.
>
> The greater part of the gold here is fine. The miners in general make more where it is fine than they do where the gold is coarse....

He restates his frequently declared opinion that if he were back again in New England and had a pleasant home, he would be contented to remain there. But as long as he *was* here, he was going to make the best of it that he could. "Considering," he says, "the hardships a person has to undergo in coming to this country and returning, a few thousand dollars will not justify him in the undertaking. . . . Please direct your letters to Sacramento City, California, and then I can send for them by Express from any part of the mining district."

The next letter to his brother-in-law and sister is dated from Jacksonville, Oregon Territory, January 1, 1855. He had been on the coast near Cape Blanco. It was 150 miles distant, he said, from Jacksonville, and lacked U. S. mail and also express communication. Since his return from the Cape Blanco area, he had been doing "tolerably well making above expenses from one to four hundred per week." He doesn't want them to think that he is getting too avaricious:

> I only want enough so that I can take my ease and comfort when I return to the Atlantic states, but I begin to think that I shall have to earn every cent I get in this country by the sweat of my brow, as big strikes (as it is termed) are becoming somewhat scarce. . . . This valley (Rogue River) is improving very rapidly. It is called the handsomest and most wealthy valley in the Territory, likewise the mines contain the richest deposits in Oregon and as rich as many in California.

He found the Indians extremely troublesome, but "even these are not more dangerous than many of the Whites. I trust that some day not far distant I shall live in a country where revolvers and bowie knives are not in every day use. Although I have always got along well enough with the people of this country, a person must be firm and resolute, else he will shortly be run over. . . ."

By April 3, 1859, a letter of that date to his same New Hampshire correspondents shows that he was then in Stockton. The last letter that he had sent — one written from Tuolumne County — had been lost when the *Central America* sank (Sept. 12, 1857, on her way north from Aspinwall). After leaving Tuolumne County he had been in Mariposa County "on the famous John C. Fremont Grant. I presume you have heard of the person, as I see he was very popular in Vermont at the last Presidential election, much more so than in his own country, where he is only noted for his rascality." Resuming the account of his personal doings, Mann says:

> Last July (after spending better than five years in the Gold Mines), I came down to the agricultural portion of the state, where I have remained until the present. Money is

not made as rapidly at farming as at mining but somewhat more sure. At times I have made money very fast at mining, when, at other times I would lose it equally as fast. At the present I am doing much better than I could in the Eastern states.

A year passes (April 1, 1860); he is still in Stockton, and he informs his two correspondents that he had been continuing to farm. The soil, he says, is rich, the climate healthy. No immediate prospect of visiting his relatives in the east offers itself. He realizes that acquaintances, there, of his generation are getting on in years. As for himself, a ray of hope exists in the fact that, as he says, "We hardly ever think of getting old in California."

The next letter again carries a Stockton superscription and is dated December 14, 1862. He comments on the lack of letters, both from him and to him; but the postal facilities in the west were "very irregular," and, besides, "It always appears," he says, "as though I had nothing to write that would be interesting to you as things here in California are about the same this year as last (with me especially)." With respect to the war, his opinion was that "the North and West would exert its utmost power to put down rebellion after concluding to try their hand at it. The press in California thinks 'by the President's Message' that Old Abe is rather backing down or crying quit."

In Mrs. Barr's collection of her father's letters are several that he wrote to his future wife, Hattie Hodge Gordon, before their marriage, and while she was living in New Hampshire. On April 1, 1863, he tells her that California is "rapidly increasing in population, wealth, & agricultural resources. Likewise society has improved very much and it will not be very long that Cal. will be inferior to other states in that respect."

Some five months later (Sept. 13, 1863), he writes in a vein suggestive of a swing from his former attitude toward New England: "Taking the bad with the good I think Cal. is preferable to any state that I was ever in and I have been in quite a number. The longer I remain in Cal. the more difficult it is to leave. . . ."

In the following spring (Jan. 17, 1864), the war comes in for comment: ". . . As yet we have hardly experienced any effects of the war in Cal. Probably we will shortly be favored with the draft. The enrollment has taken effect here and all there is for Old Abe to do is to say the word."

His letter to her of June 12, 1864, speaks of the President's popularity: "The nomination of honest Abraham for re-election gives general satisfaction in Cal. No one could suit us better. He will undoubtedly receive a large majority on the Pacific slope, judging from public demonstration."*

On April 13, 1865, Stephen H. Mann left for the east by way of Panama, returning the next autumn with his bride, Hattie Hodge (Gordon) Mann, seventh in descent from Alexander Gordon of the Highlands of Scotland and Exeter, New Hampshire, whom he married June 24, 1865, at Whitefield, N. H. They arrived in Stockton October 17, 1865, their home until their deaths – Mrs. Mann, on February 25, 1896; and her husband, on October 2, 1917, at the age of ninety-two.†

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*Of interest in this connection is the opinion of Ira Mann, Jr., Stephen's father. Writing to his son on March 2, 1865, he says: "The result of the last Presidential election is truly gratifying to every loyal heart. It was not merely a party triumph – it was a great moral victory and it not only affects the destiny of this great Nation but the destiny of human progress over the whole earth."

Four children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Mann: Ira Jeremiah, who died in infancy; Hattie Maie (d. Dec. 10, 1949), who became head librarian of the Stockton Public Library, and to whose typed transcripts of her father's letters the editors of the QUARTERLY are indebted for ease in their publication; Mrs. James A. (Julia Inez Mann) Barr, widow of the former director of congresses and conventions for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, who has kindly made her father's letters available to the QUARTERLY's editors; and Mrs. Francis Joseph (Henrietta Flora Mann) Dietrich, wife of a Stockton realtor. Mrs. Dietrich died on September 19, 1945.

APPENDIX

Letters from Ira Mann, Jr., to his son, Stephen Hodge Mann, and Stephen's wife, Hattie, are also in Mrs. Barr's collection of family papers. Below are transcripts of portions of three of these letters:

Pittsford, N. Y., Apr. 21, 1869

"... I see by the papers that you have had severe shocks of earthquakes in your state especially in the city of Sanfrancisco. It must produce a peculiar sensation in one's mind as well as in the body during the continuance of the motion...."

Pittsford, N. Y., June 26, 1869

"... Dear Hattie I thank you for your kind letter it was interesting to me your description of the sensation produced by an earthquake was what would be natural to all living beings when terra firma becomes insecure there is no place of safety left....

"... The people of the Atlantic states are growing rich with a rapidity never before known notwithstanding the enormous national debt and heavy taxes as we are compelled to pay, and the emigration from Europe is astonishing.... I see by the papers that your state is fast becoming Asiatic by the rapid emigration from China some of them intelligent bringing with them the tea seed and mulberry for raising silk which is said to be well adapted to California. These branches of industries, with wine growing and other farm produce, and with the mines will make the resources of California unlimited.

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†Accounts of Stephen H. Mann's life appeared in the Stockton *Record* of Oct. 3, 1917. *See also* J. M. Guinn and George H. Tinkham, *History of the State of California and Biographical Record of San Joaquin County* (Los Angeles, 1909), II, 88-90. A bronze plaque in his memory is hanging in the San Joaquin Pioneer and Historical Museum, Stockton, Calif.

Now that the Great Pacific R. R. is finished, large excursion parties are going this summer to Sanfrancisco and many New York men will be there."

Pittsford, N. Y., Dec. 27, 1870

"... I cant reasonably give you any encouragement of ever seeing me in Stockton as my infirmities will prevent me from fulfilling my wish. Dear Hattie we thank you for the good long letter and the beautiful fragrant flowers enclosed.... I do not wonder that Hattie has some objections against the climate after being afflicted with fever and ague for a whole summer [he had had experience in Michigan, many years before, with it].... Dear children please accept this half sheet with our united love and good wishes You are so isolated from your relatives that your love centres in each other with greater strength than if divided among many each day...."

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

(June-August, 1952)

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Victor J. Bergeron	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Henria P. Compton	Chico	Warren R. Howell
Harold J. Havre	San Francisco	Resuming membership
George M. Mardikian	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
	Active	
K. E. Appert	Atherton	Warren R. Howell
Edward R. Bacon	San Francisco	Chester W. Skaggs
Louis A. Benoist	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Gustave B. Berlien	Oakland	Membership Committee
Mrs. Richard Bonelli	Crystal Bay P.O.	Mrs. Milton H. Esberg
Robert E. Burke	Berkeley	Col. Fred B. Rogers
Shannon Crandall, Jr.	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Stuart G. Cross	Palo Alto	Honor Award – Stanford University
Mrs. Dixwell Davenport	San Francisco	Col. Waddell F. Smith
R. M. Faletti	Santa Barbara	Warren R. Howell
Stuyvesant Fish	Carmel	Warren R. Howell
Max P. Fisher	San Francisco	Robert F. Heizer
Mrs. Henry F. Grady	San Francisco	Lynn White, Jr.
Harry Hastings, Jr.	San Mateo	Warren R. Howell
Miss Elizabeth Heller	Atherton	Honor Award – Mills College
Robert B. Honeyman	San Marino	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Charles Janin	Piedmont	Anson S. Blake
Theodore B. Kuchel	Anaheim	Mrs. Harry Gabbert
William B. Kuder	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Hazel C. Larsen	San Francisco	Mrs. Ursula Fent
John H. Lawrence	Orinda	Warren R. Howell
William F. Luttgens, M.D.	San Francisco	Dwight L. Wilbur, M.D.
Mrs. Thomas P. McCrea	Santa Barbara	Anson S. Blake
Joseph A. McGowan	Sacramento	Willard W. Smith
Mrs. Henry Michaels	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
R. L. Minckler	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Miss Charlotte M. Morris	Oakland	Mrs. Guy J. Giffen
Mrs. Helen Marie Page	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. C. J. Pelissero	Santa Barbara	E. S. Conner
Mrs. M. Russell Perkins	Santa Barbara	Warren R. Howell
John J. Pike	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Douglas Pringle	St. Helena	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. William J. Reid, Jr.	San Francisco	Mrs. Arthur J. Bancroft
John Renshaw	San Francisco	Edgar Kahn and Warren R. Howell
E. K. Safford	Nelson, Butte Co.	Warren R. Howell

Name	Address	Proposed by
Mrs. Eric Segerstrom	Sonora, Tuolumne Co.	Warren R. Howell
Arthur Thomas Senasac	San Francisco	David F. Myrick
L. L. Shaw	Klamath Falls, Ore.	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Blanche Simon	San Francisco	Paul Sinsheimer
Mrs. George M. Simonson	Piedmont	Warren R. Howell
Harry B. Smith	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Reese H. Taylor	Pasadena	Warren R. Howell
James H. Thompson, M.D.	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Miss Virginia W. Thomson	San Mateo	Honor Award – University of California
Randolph Charles Walker	Los Angeles	Resuming membership
Robert S. Walker	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Eli H. Weil	Atherton	Transfer of Mr. Weil's membership
Richard Coke Wood	Stockton	Rockwell D. Hunt
Rodney A. Yoell, M.D.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. George D. Young	Auburn	Membership Committee

SAN FRANCISCO'S 176TH BIRTHDAY

By Resolution No. 12135 of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, which had been adopted on March 31, 1952, and by proclamation (dated April 2) of Mayor Elmer E. Robinson, the week of June 23-29, 1952, was designated as "San Francisco Founding Week."

The representative of the California Historical Society, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., was appointed general chairman, and, for the first time in the history of such celebrations, our Society coöperated with the mayor's Citizens' Committee, composed as follows, in the management of the affair:

Applegarth, Mrs. Geo. A.; Basile, Mrs. Joseph; Bishop, Richard S.; Brady, Mrs. George; Brown, Rev. James N.; Chickering, Allen L.; Clarke, Lawrence J.; Clish, Dr. Herbert; Conlon, Edward A.; Connolly, Miss Marguerite; Cross, Ralph H.; Dippel, Hon. Ann; Drury, Aubrey; Ely, Mrs. Elmer; Farquhar, Francis P.; Fox, G. Louis; Fuller, W. P., III; Gallagher, Hon. Daniel; Gantner, Vallejo; George, W. T.; Hanton, Mrs. William; Hood, Mrs. Edward M.; Howell, Warren R.; Jennings, Mrs. Edwin; Joy, Emmett P.; Juri, Miss Vivien; Kahn, Edgar; Kamb, J. Walter; Keil, Edward D.; Kennedy, Lawton; Kenney, Dr. John R.; Kilsbey, Mrs. Frank; Knowland, Hon. Joseph R.; Lewis, Hon. Oscar; Lloyd, Col. Peter J.; Luckmann, Mrs. Lloyd D.; McSweeney, Miss Jewel; Melka, Mrs. Francis B.; Polak, Mrs. Daniel; Quinlan, Mrs. Michael J.; Regan, John; Ryan, Mrs. Chris; Salinger, Mrs. Jehanne B.; Shumate, Albert, M.D.; Wilson, Mrs. Kenneth; Wren, Edward J.

Honorary chairmen: Most Rev. Merlin J. Guilfoyle, D.D.; Lieut.-Gen. Joseph M. Swing; and Hon. John J. Ferdon.

The Citizens' Committee met on May sixteenth at the City Hall, and was called to order by the Hon. John J. Ferdon. Attendance was unusual, inasmuch as the entire membership responded, as either present or accounted for, to the roll call.

On the evening of June twenty-sixth, in the assembly room of the San Francisco Public Library, the Rev. John B. McGloin, S.J., spoke on "Pioneer of the Pueblo — William Richardson's Saga in San Francisco." Chairman of the evening was Dr. Henry H. Hart, president of the Friends of the Library, and the audience was large and warm in their praise of Father McGloin's address.

At 10 A.M. the following Saturday, with the Most Rev. Merlin J. Guilfoyle as celebrant, Mass was said in the adobe church of Mission Dolores (Mission San Francisco de Asís), which had been adorned as a basilica, earlier in the year, by Pope Pius XII. After the Mass, the Very Rev. Augustine Hobrecht, O.F.M., minister provincial of the Franciscan province of Santa Barbara, addressed those gathered in the famous old church, and Col. Peter J. Lloyd, representing Lieut.-Gen. J. M. Swing, commanding the Sixth Army, placed a wreath upon the tomb of Capt. José Joaquín Moraga, who came with Anza in 1776 and was the first comandante of San Francisco.

At the conclusion of the services in the Mission, Mr. Ferdon, acting as chairman in the adjoining flower-decked historic cemetery, introduced the pastor of Mission Dolores, Most Reverend Guilfoyle, who extended greetings to all those present. Miss Rosita de Urioste, "La Favorita," a descendant of pioneer families, then spoke briefly in Spanish. As president of the Serra Club, William Hogan placed a wreath at Father Junípero Serra's statue; Col. Peter J. Lloyd paid a tribute to Captain Moraga; and Albert Shumate, M.D., in behalf of the California Historical Society, spoke at some length in memory of California's first historian — Father Francisco Palou — and placed a wreath near the plaque erected to his memory, some years ago, by this Society.

Amid the ringing of the bells of the old Mission, those assembled adjourned to the ci-devant royal presidio of Spain for luncheon, bus transportation being furnished, gratis, by officials of the municipal railway system. By popular demand, the luncheon at the officers' club was resumed this year. Regardless of the dull weather, it proved a most enjoyable occasion for some 200 guests. The general chairman presided and, after musical selections (courtesy of Musicians' Union, Local No. 6), he called, in the absence of the post commander, upon the deputy post commander, Col. Peter J. Lloyd, who welcomed those present and then introduced Miss Rosita de Urioste. Drawing his saber with military gallantry, the colonel presented it to Miss de Urioste, with the request that she cut the birthday cake. This she did in a gracious manner, to the applause of the guests.

Hon. Joseph R. Knowland was thereupon introduced, the chairman asking him, as president of the California Historical Society, to preside. After expressing his appreciation, Mr. Knowland introduced the speaker-of-the-day, Dr. Charles L. Camp of the University of California, one of California's most talented orators and an historian of note. Following his address, the luncheon guests adjourned, to the accompaniment of orchestral music, for an inspection of the officers' club building and other points of interest at the post.

The final day of the celebration will long be remembered by those who attended the ceremonies in Golden Gate Park. A special program of Spanish and American selections was played at the music concourse by Conductor Ralph Murray and his musicians; and Madelyne Green and her festival dancers entertained the enthusiastic audience with "An Early California Fiesta." Grand President Louis E. Pallandini of the Native Sons of the Golden West delivered the principal address of the day, tracing the history of San Francisco from its foundation to the present time. Mr. Ferdon extended the mayor's greetings, and Mr. Knowland was called upon for a few remarks.

Just prior to the ceremonies at the music concourse, Miss Jewel McSweeney, grand president of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, assisted by the grand president of the Native Sons, placed a wreath at the base of Father Serra's statue.

From 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., the Association of Pioneer Women held open house at their log cabin in Golden Gate Park. All were invited and great numbers dropped in during the afternoon, to enjoy the hospitality prepared by these ladies.

This year's celebration of San Francisco's birthday was participated in by the entire city, to an extent far greater than ever before. Special exhibits were held by the Public Library, by the Society of California Pioneers, and by the California Historical Society. Both the chamber of commerce and the junior chamber were of great assistance. The school department gave us splendid publicity, while our press coverage was more comprehensive and far more abundant than in former birthday celebrations. Radio and television stations in San Francisco granted us interviews and arranged for spot announcements at the height of the celebration. The army, the navy, and the marine corps offered their aid. In honor of the occasion, Frances Hoenig composed a piano march, "Here's to San Francisco."

It is pleasant to record that a communication was received from Petra, the city of Miguel José (Junípero) Serra's birth into the family of Antonio and Margarita Ferrer Serra. Received also was a telegram of congratulation from the mayor of Caen, France.*

Greatly adding to the success of our efforts was the program, designed, printed, and donated by the George Reproduction Co. As in the past, the wine served at the luncheon arrived with a birthday card and greetings from Beringer Brothers. Thanks to these gentlemen, the luncheon was placed on an entirely different, though properly historic, level.

My thanks, as general chairman of arrangements, go to all who assisted in

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*A l'occasion anniversaire fondation Ville de Caen adresse à la grande cité et à ses habitants généreux felicitations affectueuses et voeux ardents de bonheur pacifique et de prospérité.

Yves Guillou
Maire de Caen

making this birthday celebration so successful; among them, City Librarian Lawrence J. Clarke, Mrs. Edwin Jennings, Dr. Herbert Clish, Col. Peter J. Lloyd, and Edgar Kahn. Lastly, in a very special manner, our thanks to Mrs. George A. Applegarth, who, seeking neither publicity nor thanks, is, above all others, responsible for the notable success of the birthday celebration.

A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

1945
William Cavalier

1947
Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948
Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949
Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950
Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman

William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
C. O. G. Miller
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

June 1 to September 1, 1952

Because of the increased number of gifts received by the Society's library and museum, it is now practicable to describe in detail but a few of the more significant collections or individual items presented to the Society:

Augustino Chichizola Company Papers

For many years, the firm of Antonio Chichizola and Son, Grocers, was well-known in San Francisco. As widely known throughout northern California was the Amador City general merchandise business of his brother, Augustino. Mr. Raymond Slanker, Roseville, has presented 25 volumes of Augustino Chichizola's business accounts, 1877-1905. These manuscripts are not only a worthy addition to the Society's business collection but also are a thorough documentation of that rapidly vanishing example of Americana, the general store.

Prosper Godchaux Collection

The Estudillo House in San Leandro was a popular hostelry in the San Francisco Bay area from 1867 until its owner, Prosper Godchaux, retired more than 50 years later. From his daughters, Miss Emma Godchaux, San Francisco, and Mrs. H. L. Reichsrath, San Leandro, the Society has acquired 23 large photographs illustrating life at the hotel, and more than 50 billheads, receipts, menus, and clippings reflecting Godchaux's business activities. Included in the collection are *An Act to Incorporate the Town of San Leandro* . . . (San Leandro, 1872) and Theodore Peralta's copy of *Ordinances for the Town of San Leandro, 1872-3* (Hayward, 1873).

Guiberson Collection of Early California Lithographs

In the memory of Mary Greene Guiberson (1841-1905), Ventura County, Mr. Gordon Greene Guiberson, La Jolla, has presented five handsomely framed early Sacramento and Stockton colored lithographs. Included is Casilear and Bainbridge's *View of Sacramento City as it Appeared During the Great Inundation in January, 1850*. In addition, Mr. Guiberson and Miss Ariel Guiberson have placed with the Society, on a long-term loan, six equally fine early lithographs of San Francisco. These, in the memory of Mary Owner Heanan (1853-1940), San Francisco, include S. F. Marryat's *San Francisco* (London, 1851); Snow and Company's *San Francisco, 1849;* and Knoedler's *San Francisco; from California Street. Drawn from a Daguerrotype* [sic], *the Property of Eug. Delessert* . . . (Paris, n. d.). Appropriately accompanying the collection is the framed invitation issued by "Captain and Mrs. Simpton, San Francisco, April 16, 1852, in honor of the marriage of Miss Simpton and Mr. H. Owner."

Harold C. Holmes Book Label Collection

Since 1894, Mr. Harold C. Holmes has been the guiding genius of the Holmes Book Company of Oakland and San Francisco. Among his varied interests has been the collection of book labels, originally mounted in volumes sold by California booksellers, antiquarian and otherwise. Having been apprised of the Society's California business collection, Mr. Holmes presented approximately 650 labels, representing 160 firms in 21 California localities, from the early 1850's to the present day.

Materials of great interest have also been contributed by many friends in many places:

Alturas
  Miss Dorothy V. Gloster
Auburn
  Placer County Historical Society
Berkeley
  Remi Bacigalupi
  Anson Blake
  Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
  J. W. Johnson
  Hobart M. Lovett
  Irving Murray Scott, Jr.
  Emily L. Turner
  Homer C. Votaw
Culver City
  Andrew F. Rolle
Dorchester, Mass.
  H. L. Kelley
Folsom
  Mrs. Elma P. Atchison
Grass Valley
  Mrs. Edna Dahl Sampson
Kentfield
  F. Bourn Hayne
La Jolla
  Miss Ariel Guiberson
  Gordon Greene Guiberson
Lodi
  Mrs. Wilson H. Thompson
Los Angeles
  Garner A. Beckett
  Byron Jackson Company
  Henry H. Clifford
  George H. Kress, M.D.
  Pacific Coast Borax Company
Los Banos
  Ralph L. Milliken
Los Gatos
  Mrs. C. E. Mackenzie
Merced
  Miss Blanche Galloway
Mill Valley
  Miss Mildred V. Marsh
Monrovia
  Francis Marion Pottenger, M.D.
Nevada City
  Mrs. Doris Foley
Niles
  Mrs. J. C. Shinn
Oakland
  Victor J. Bergeron
  Harry Davidson
  Joseph Faunt Le Roy
  Harold C. Holmes
  Albert E. Norman
Ojai
  Howard Bald
  Mrs. Harry M. Gorham
  Mrs. David Lavender
Palo Alto
  George L. Harding
  Guy C. Miller
Pasadena
  A. T. Cassell

Philadelphia, Pa.
  Eddy O'Malley
Piedmont
  Mrs. H. H. Mitten
Redding
  Mrs. Helen Hogue
Redwood City
  Alan Brown
Roseville
  Raymond Slanker
Ross
  Mrs. B. K. Dunshee
Sacramento
  C. M. Goethe
  Mrs. Eleanor Pezzaglia
San Anselmo
  Shirley Walker
San Bernardino
  L. Burr Belden
San Diego
  Ben J. Dixon
  Don N. Driese
  Union Title Insurance and Trust Company
San Francisco
  James Abajian
  Miss Edith Allyne
  Miss Lucy Allyne
  Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs
  W. P. Fuller Brawner
  Adrien J. Falk
  Miss Emma Godchaux
  Mrs. E. S. Heller
  I. W. Hellman
  Warren R. Howell
  Mrs. James Jenkins
  Andrew L. Johnston
  Lawton Kennedy
  Edward Kneass
  Alexander T. Leonard, M.D.
  James Liney
  J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
  Mrs. Marion Montague
  Alan Nichols
  Mrs. E. Barnum Power
  Kernan Robson
  San Francisco College for Women
  Earl P. Scully
  Garwood Simons
  Miss Ruth Teiser
  Mrs. James M. Troutt
  Carl I. Wheat
  Miss Lottie G. Woods
San Leandro
  Mrs. H. L. Reichsrath
  Mrs. E. P. Schlichtmann
San Lorenzo
  Mrs. Ivy Miller
San Rafael
  Waddell F. Smith
Santa Barbara
  Elbert S. Conner
  Hal W. Gorham
  Mrs. H. S. Pritchett
Sausalito
  Mrs. Isabelle Porter Collins
Stinson Beach
  Mrs. Louise Falkenau Haas

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Cameron, Frank Thomas. Cottrell: Samaritan of Science. N. Y., Doubleday, 1952. 414 p. $4.50.

Caughey, John Walton, ed. The Indians of Southern California in 1852; the B. D. Wilson Report and a Selection of Contemporary Comment. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1952. xxxiv, 154 p. $3.50.

Forbes, Robert H. Crabb's Filibustering Expedition into Sonora, 1857; an Historical Account. Tucson, Arizona Silhouettes, 1952. 5 p. *l.*, 60 p. illus., map, ports. $5.00.

Hammond, George Peter, ed. The Larkin Papers; Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California . . . Volume II, 1843-1844. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. xii, 362 p. front. $10.00.

Jackson, Joseph Henry, ed. The Western Gate; a San Francisco Reader. N. Y., Farrar [c1952] xiv, 524 p. $4.75.

McLane, Lucy Neely. A Piney Paradise by Monterey Bay; Pacific Grove, the Documentary History of Her First Twenty-Five Years and a Glimpse of Her Adulthood. San Francisco, Lawton Kennedy, 1952. 1 p. *l.*, 231 p., 5 *l.* illus. $5.00.

Pottenger, Francis Marion. The Fight Against Tuberculosis; an Autobiography. N. Y., Henry Schuman [c1952] xii, 276 p. ports. $4.00.

Powell, Lawrence Clark. Land of Fiction; Thirty-Two Novels and Stories About Southern California from *Ramona* to *The Loved One;* a Bibliographical Essay. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1952. xiv, 1-xxxii, 2 *l.* $5.00.

Rhodes, Edwin, ed. The Break of Day in Chino; a Collection of Incidents and Impressions Marking the Early Life of Chino, as Recorded by Various Reliable Authors. Chino, Edwin Rhodes, 1951. 95 p. ports. [Apply to publisher]

Walker, Margaret Hall. The Hall Family Crossing the Plains. San Francisco, Wallace Kibbee, 1952. xix, 74 p. illus., ports. [Privately printed]

Zarchin, Michael M. Glimpses of Jewish Life in San Francisco (History of San Francisco Jewry). San Francisco, Michael M. Zarchin [c1952] vii, 221 p. $4.00. [Mimeographed]

Marginalia

Notes on Authors in This Issue:

A. Russell Buchanan (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1935) is professor of history and chairman of the department of social sciences at Santa Barbara College of the University of California. During summer sessions, he has taught at Claremont Colleges and at the University of New Mexico; and, at the time of World War II, he was absent on military leave for service as a naval officer. Mr. Buchanan is a member of the board of editors, *Pacific Historical Review.*

Marie Denervaud (Mrs. Harry W.) Dun, daughter of Calixte and Maybelle Elizabeth (Neall) Denervaud, studied music in San Francisco, and, later, with Harold Bauer in Paris and Helen Hopekirk in Boston. Upon moving from Boston to New York, Mrs. Dun gave up music as a profession and devoted her time, instead, to the writing of mystery novels and short stories. On the basis of her present narrative about Mrs. Neall, that lady would no doubt have applauded her granddaughter's shift in profession.

Readers of the Book Club of California's *Quarterly News Letter* (Fall, 1951) have become familiar with Paul Fatout's researches on the subject of Ambrose Bierce – the "Devil's Lexicographer," to quote from the title of Mr. Fatout's book, published in 1951 by the University of Oklahoma Press. Mr. Fatout is a graduate of Purdue University and has studied at Pennsylvania State College and at Columbia University. At present he is professor of English at Purdue, and is continuing at the same time his studies of original Bierce material.

For notes on John A. Hussey, see this Quarterly, June 1946, p. 189; March 1950, p. 89.

Among Our New Members:

Mrs. Richard Bonelli is gathering information on her grandfather, William Hayes Perry, whose diary, written while he was driving sheep across the plains to California with W. W. Hollister, she is now studying. Botanists, interested in California flora, are not surprised to find Mediterranean forage plants (such as red-stem filaree) among them, for they have been shown to have been introduced into the country in the wool of the padres' sheep. Mrs. Bonelli may find that her grandfather has jotted down in his diary the names of the plants he and his flocks saw – and perhaps found gastronomic satisfaction in – as they crossed the plains. If so, we hope she will let us know.

Robert F. Burke (Ph.D., University of California, 1950), a former student in history under the late Frederic L. Paxson and, subsequently, under John D. Hicks, has specialized in the political phases of the subject, as they have manifested themselves in California since the turn of the 20th century, viz., cross-filing in California elections, 1914-46; and the Olson regime. During 1950-51, the microfilming of documents relating to the American west and Mexico, now in the British archives, took him to England. Since his return, Mr. Burke has been head of the manuscripts division of the Bancroft Library.

Mrs. Lucretia del Valle Grady, wife of the American diplomat, Henry F. Grady, is the daughter of Reginaldo del Valle, whose father, Ignacio del Valle, had come to California in 1825 with Echeandía (*see* H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 755-56). Reginaldo del Valle took a prominent part in western politics also, having been a member of the California assembly and a state senator. Entirely aside from ancestry, Mrs. Grady has a wide and admiring circle of friends.

Miss Elizabeth Heller, honor-award student from Mills College, and valedictorian of this year's graduating class, is a member of a family whose abilities have not been confined to practice of the law but have been given freely in furthering the musical and other artistic interests of San Francisco. To mention only two such instances: among the twenty-one men who met on December 20, 1909, to plan for the establishment of a symphony orchestra in this city, was E. S. Heller; and his name appears as one of the original directors of the California Historical Society, at the time of its re-organization in 1922.

Theodore B. Kuchel, of the Anaheim *Gazette*, is related to Charles C. Kuchel, partner of Emil Dresel in the highly-respected early San Francisco lithographing firm of Kuchel & Dresel. Biographical information on the Kuchel family may be found in the Society's library, by gift of Mrs. Harry Gabbert, a relative.

Mrs. M. Russell Perkins' grandfather, Robert Bennet Forbes, was engaged in the early trade between this coast and China. In 1825, his ship, the *Nile*, stopped at Santa Barbara, and some years later (1870) he was in San Francisco (*see* his *Notes on Navigation*, Boston, 1884). Robert's brother, John M. Forbes, came to California afterwards, and took up property in the area now known as Montecito.

Arthur Thomas Senasac, a native of Indiana, has been on the office staff of the president of the Southern Pacific for over twenty-five years. The greater part of his leisure he spends in the colored photography of the mother-lode country and the missions.

In Laurence L. Shaw's library are books on the history of the Pacific northwest, of special interest to him from the fact that his grandparents came into that section of the United States from Canada in the 1870's, and settled in the Willamette Valley, Oregon. Mr. Shaw lived in Modoc County for some ten years after his graduation from Stanford University in 1931. He is now president of the Modoc Lumber Co., Klamath Falls, which specializes in ponderosa-pine products.

Miss Virginia W. Thomson, honor-award student from the University of California, received her B.A. degree at San Jose State College in 1951, and will be granted her M.A. in history from the University of California this September, in recognition of her thesis on the Tennesseean, George Nidever, who came into California as a hunter with J. R. Walker's party in 1833.

Richard C. Wood's thesis for the Ph.D. degree from the University of Southern California was concerned with the history of the Calaveras region. Published already are his *Tales of Old Calaveras*, and *Murphys, Queen of the Sierra*. While teaching at Murphys, before taking up his duties at the College of the Pacific, he and Mrs. Wood purchased two of the town's old stone buildings, which were about to be torn down, and restored them, converting one into a museum.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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John Albert Hooper

Based on Research *by* AUBREY DRURY

With Foreword by ARTHUR W. HOOPER

FOREWORD. – The lives of most men are in the main devoted to routine affairs, and exceptional events may be widely separated in point of time. My father's life covered a period of eighty-seven years, as did the life-span of both his own father and mother. He was a man able to put the workaday world behind him when he left his office and rarely mentioned business problems at home. Worry, at least to outward appearance, was not in his make-up. Depressions occurred with more or less intensity, but these were looked upon as the ebb tide following the flood stage. He would have been horrified at the present-day crises and emergencies brought into being by politicians.

There was seventeen years' difference in ages between the oldest and youngest child; this, and his attention to a delicate wife, meant that he was well into middle age before he could relax from the burden of starting a large number of children along the road of life. With old age came mellowness and a deepening of the ties that bound him to California; he traveled little except on the Pacific coast.

His business ventures would have been considered small in comparison to the gigantic operations of present-day corporations. He chose his associates from among his brothers and close friends; I know of no one to whom the term "rugged individualist" could be more aptly applied.

This short biography is not to be read in the expectation of finding a series of dramatic situations; it is the simple recounting of a long productive life.

ARTHUR W. HOOPER

In 1799, John Hooper, a farmer of Madbury, New Hampshire, and scion of early eighteenth-century settlers in Kittery, Maine, was married to Susan, daughter of Ebenezer and Eunice (Tarr) Meserve. They had a son whom they named John, and a resumé of this John's life as of May 25, 1886, is given in a "Statement," dictated by him and now in the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library.

He was born, he says, in New Hampshire, on December 14, 1810. The year is undoubtedly an error in taking down his dictation, as other genealogical records give 1805.* At the age of twelve, he left home and went to

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***Hooper Genealogy*, compiled by Charles H. Pope and Thomas Hooper (Boston, 1908), *passim; Bay of San Francisco* (Chicago, 1892), II, 670-71. These authorities also agree in giving December 12 as the day of birth – *not* December 14.

Rochester, New York, where he remained some five years in the law office of "Old Colonel [Nathaniel] Rochester." When Rochester died, and he, himself, had recovered from an attack of chills and fever, he went to Boston, Massachusetts. There he "worked in a shoe store." After about eight years he moved to Bangor, Maine, continuing in the shoe business from two to three years more. Meanwhile, in 1833, he had taken to wife Martha Stanwood Perry, of Brunswick, Maine.

Shortly afterwards came his determination to transfer his interests from shoes to lumber – a determination which first established the Hooper name with that great industry. When he went back to Boston and started from there in 1851 for the west coast, handling lumber was the business he chose to follow in California. ". . . but in the meantime," he says, "I was mining also. I went up into the mines in 1854 or 5. My son was quite young then, for attending to business in my absence. I was back and forth a great deal." He was alone, he says, at first. Then he was joined by William A. Palmer** and by his own son. He does not call him by name in this dictated statement, but in another, dated September 11, 1886 (also in the Bancroft Library), he speaks of him as "my son William." In the latter statement, Hooper says that he had gone to Amador County "for the purpose of looking for quartz mining. I traveled around the State a good deal before locating there. . . ." The *History of Amador County* (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1881, p. 160) says that the "Plymouth mine was discovered by Green Aden in 1853 or 1854. The mine, then called the Phoenix, was developed by the Hoopers, and was worked by them until 1871, when it passed into the hands of Hayward, D. O. Mills & Co." Both of Hooper's statements include mention of the different mines and those who worked them – the aforementioned Palmer, Alvinza Hayward, R. G. Sneath, F. F. Thomas, and others. Hayward was also interested in lumber, Hooper says, and he associated himself with Hayward for about a year in this industry at Chico.

John Hooper, whose death occurred in San Francisco on October 4, 1892, was eighty at the time he made his dictated "Statements." In the pages that immediately follow, and as an introduction to the paper's main theme – his son, John A. Hooper – is a partial reconstruction of the details that were merely hinted at in the dictations.

JOHN HOOPER'S SONS ENTER THE LUMBER BUSINESS

When the senior Hooper reached San Francisco in the fall of 1851, the activities of the First Committee of Vigilance were ending. Among the committee's investigations had been those in connection with the fires that had been devastating San Francisco. Fires created a demand for building mate-

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**On p. 114 of the *Pacific Coast Business Directory* for 1867, under Amador City, William A. Palmer & Co. is listed as proprietor of the Bunker Hill Quartz Mill, and John Palmer appears as "agent" of the same mill.

rials, but, just as strong in creating demand, were the countless projects that were being tried out in the state – fluming enterprises, mine timbering, ship building, cooperage, the laying of wooden sidewalks, cigar-box and billiard-table manufacturing, to mention only a few. Some idea of the sources, from which the supplies for this diversified industry were coming, can be obtained from the *Alta California* of October 21, 1853:

> Until '52, the imports from the Atlantic exceeded those from the Pacific coast. During '52, the imports from Oregon were more than 2-fifths of the whole amount. In June 1852, the first cargo of lumber came from Puget Sound. . . . The imports for this year as compared with last, will show an increase, from the Atlantic States of one hundred and fifty per cent, from Oregon of thirty-three per cent, and from California of more than two hundred per cent. . . .
>
> The lumber produced in California for our market is principally redwood, pine, spruce and fir. . . . The lumber imported from the Atlantic is mostly clear white pine, for fine work. . . . It is all planed . . . principally sawn in Maine and Western New York.

Classified-business lists, in the San Francisco directories for the period 1850-1870, show how lumber dealers were increasing in number. To win success, in an industry that offered so much and was taken up by so many, was an indication of sagacity, imagination, tenacity, and downright luck. John Hooper, early to enter the lumber trade, established himself, first, at the corner of Stockton and Jackson streets and was successful from the start. In 1853, he returned to New England on a visit. When he embarked again for California on March 3, 1854, his son, John Albert (b. Bangor, Maine, Sept. 25, 1838) was with him. Their vessel took them as far as Aspinwall, whereupon, not having immediate transportation across the Isthmus of Panama, the Hoopers walked. April 2, 1854, found them in San Francisco, where they joined William Horace Hooper, mentioned by his father in the above dictations. With John A. and another son, Franklin P., to act as managers of the San Francisco interests, the father and William repaired to the mines. Shortly afterward, the two sons who had remained in San Francisco entered into a partnership, that was to continue for decades as F. P. & J. A. Hooper, lumber dealers.

The stand taken by the Vigilance Committee of 1856 won support from the New Englanders, John Hooper and his sons; among the family's treasures is one of the staffs, carried by marchers when parading during the committee's regime. As to national politics, the Hoopers strongly supported the Union. Before coming to California in the fall of 1863, another son, Charles A. Hooper, had served in the 43d Massachusetts Volunteers.

In the spring of 1865, John A. Hooper went on business to Washington, D. C., and chanced to be at Ford's Theater on the night of April 14, 1865. He had gone there to witness the performance of "Our American Cousin," in which Laura Keane was starring. Late in the play, a pistol shot rang out. It was not, as some surmised, part of the performance. It was the shot that caused the death of Abraham Lincoln. Awed by the tragedy of the event, John A. Hooper stayed in Washington, to attend the funeral of the President. Then he traveled to New England, where, in his home city of Bangor, Maine, he met his bride-to-be, Mary Campbell Brown, aged nineteen years. Her father, Benjamin F. Brown, did not consent, then, to their marriage, but advised the young man to return to California and come back the following year. This he did. They were married on June 21, 1866, and at once went to California. Attracted also to California† were the bride's father and her mother (Mary Campbell McIntyre, daughter of Peter and Robena Napier McRuer McIntyre), as well as her two sisters, Miss Alice M. Brown and Mrs. Israel Washburn; and two brothers, John and Edward Brown.

After his marriage, John A. Hooper took out life insurance with a coverage of $5000. The endorsement, attached to his policy, reads as follows:

THE MUTUAL BENEFIT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
261 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

December 9th, 1867

Policy No. 48844 $5000. Life of John A. Hooper

Permission is hereby given to the insured under the above numbered Policy, without extra charge, to reside in any settled part of the States of California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington Territory, and while so residing to make trips (as passenger only) on first class Steamers plying between the ports of Washington Territory, the States of Oregon and California and the Sandwich Islands, and to proceed to and return from the Atlantic States in like manner or by public conveyances overland,

It being understood and agreed that on the Overland Route the said assured is to take his own risk of death from hostile Indians. This permit is not valid unless the premiums on the Policy are paid at maturity.

Such of the insurance policy's potentially "hostile Indians" as the Hoopers came upon, in their lumber operations, were changed into good, though perhaps over-attentive, neighbors, simply by the employment of modern equipment.

By 1863-64, F. P. & J. A. Hooper's headquarters were no longer at California and Drumm streets, the third site from which the senior Hooper had conducted his affairs, but the firm had moved to 49 Market Street, corner of Spear, where now rises the Southern Pacific Building. Later in the 1860's, the partners became proprietors, also, of the Trinidad Mills. Trinidad, a small port now in Humboldt County, is open to westerly and southwesterly winds, though it affords shelter against storms from the northeast.

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†Another member of Mrs. John A. Hooper's family, Donald C. McRuer, reached California before the publication of the 1854 *San Francisco Directory,* in which he is listed as commission merchant; later he and J. C. Merrill appear as auctioneers and commission merchants. McRuer became president of the California Mutual Marine Insurance Co. in 1862, and held office until he resigned, some three months after taking office as congressman from the first California district (term beginning March 4, 1865). Subsequently, he lived in St. Helena, Napa County. In 1881, he was one of the incorporators of the Pacific-Union Club of San Francisco. For his career in the insurance business, *see* "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," this QUARTERLY, Sept. and Dec. 1947, pp. 264, 265, 355; and June 1948, p. 172.

An advance in equipment was made when the proprietors purchased a Baldwin locomotive, for use on the Trinidad Mill Company's logging railroad. The trade-magazine, *Baldwin Locomotive*, in its issue of July 1923, says that the little engine bore the construction number 5014, and the name "Sequoia," and was completed and shipped to San Francisco in March 1880. It is described as having been a four-coupled tank locomotive, of standard gauge, with 12 x 16-inch cylinders; driving wheels were 34 inches in diameter. Its smoke stack was bonnet-type, the specification for fuel being that it should be "wood of poor quality." Upon its arrival at San Francisco, the engine was dismantled and shipped on the sailing schooner *Alice* to Trinidad, where its parts were landed by the use of a single-guyed logging derrick. The *Baldwin Locomotive* account continues: "When the locomotive was placed in service, considerable trouble was experienced with the Klamath Indians, who were continually begging for rides. Not infrequently the little 'Sequoia' would come puffing through the woods with Indians perched on the front bumper, on top of the cab and wherever else they could locate themselves. . . ."

The magazine states further that J. A. Hooper was acquainted with Edward H. Williams, a member of the Baldwin firm at that time. When Williams, on one of his business trips to Russia, showed acquaintances a photograph of the engine and the logs it hauled, "the Russians could scarcely believe that logs of the size shown were obtainable. These logs were redwood, from 8 to 10 feet in diameter and 12 to 16 feet long."

Not only did the Hoopers provide quantities of lumber for the building of San Francisco from the middle of the nineteenth century on, but they took great amounts south, to be used for similar purposes in Los Angeles. In the late 1860's, the lumber schooner *Newport* sailed from Trinidad for Newport, then in Los Angeles County (now in Orange), with a cargo of redwood from the Hooper mills. Upon arrival at his destination, the master of the schooner made arrangements with James and John McFadden†† of Santa Ana to take the cargo in barter for their line of goods. A few years later (1872), the schooner *Alice* was launched, to participate with the *Newport* in this trade. For ten years these ships sailed up and down the coast, unloading their lumber at Newport and exchanging it through the McFaddens for various products, which were sold on the voyage north at Santa Barbara, Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Francisco.

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††For information on the McFaddens and their partners, *see* the *Pacific Coast Business Directory* for 1880-81, under Santa Ana; and the *Los Angeles County Directory*, 1886-87, Pt. III, pp. 121-22, 125-26.

On January 8, 1883, the San Pedro Lumber Co. was incorporated, and the papers filed in San Francisco by F. P. & J. A. Hooper. Eight and a half acres were purchased on Bosqui Slough, San Pedro Harbor, and the plant became fully integrated, with ample dockage space and also a planing mill and dry kilns. The establishment of the business at San Pedro was a direct result of the development of mining at Tombstone, Arizona, in 1882, and L. W. Blinn was sent by F. P. & J. A. Hooper to take care of the orders for mine timbers that were pouring into the San Francisco office. It was obvious that a great saving in shipping costs could be effected if the lumber were brought to southern California by ship and then carried into Arizona by rail.

The San Pedro Lumber Co.'s first venture was so successful that it began to expand. Toward the end of 1883, a yard was opened at Compton; two years later, a Whittier yard was established, to be followed in 1888 by one at Huntington Beach, and, later still, at Long Beach. The Hoopers remained active in the company until their deaths; Frank P. died in 1904 and John A. in 1925. The principal operations continued at the original location on the slough until 1923, when a much larger area on West Basin, Wilmington, was leased from the harbor commission.

The Port Costa Lumber Co., incorporated in 1886, was located at Vallejo Junction. It acted as a wholesale yard, making considerable sales to retailers in the San Joaquin Valley. Among the largest sales were those to the Mare Island Navy Yard. With the advent of the steam schooners and the increase of shipments from northern mills direct to San Joaquin Valley points, it was decided that the operation had outlived its usefulness and in 1912 the company was liquidated.

John A. Hooper's other lumber activities consisted of the Santa Barbara Lumber Co., which was sold in 1921; the Stockton Lumber Co., incorporated in 1892, its yards completely destroyed by fire in 1934; the Hooper Lumber Co. of San Francisco, operating from 1908 to 1919; the Valley Lumber Co. in Fresno, incorporated in 1889, to which were attached numerous branches. At the time of his death, John A. Hooper was still president of the Valley Lumber Co., an office he had held since 1904; vice-president of the L. W. Blinn Lumber Co.; and director, Russ Lumber and Mill Co., San Diego.

SHIPPING INTERESTS

As an outgrowth of these interests, the Hoopers widened their lumber-shipping business. F. P. & J. A. Hooper's schooners, *Alice* and *Newport*, have been mentioned above. Other schooners, fully or partly owned and operated from about 1900 to 1916, were the *Comet* (1/3 interest); the *Ludlow* (1/4 interest); the *Rosamond* (100%), a large four-masted schooner; and the *Manila* (100%). These vessels were chartered out for the trans-Pacific trade in addition to coastwise lumber-carrying.

Other partly-owned sailing ships included the *Alpena* ($^{1}/_{32}$ interest); the *Balboa* ($^{1}/_{8}$ interest); the *Salem* ($^{1}/_{8}$); and the *Soquel* ($^{1}/_{8}$), lost on Vancouver Island in 1909. The *Salem* and the *Soquel* were operated by J. R. Hanify & Co.; the *Alpena,* by J. H. Baxter. The *Balboa,* operated by George E. Billings, was lost at Grays Harbor in 1912.

About 1905, the steam schooner, specially constructed for the lumber trade, with large deck-carrying capacity, had in general supplanted the sailing vessel. The young and aggressive firm of Sudden & Christenson engaged in the acquisition and operation of steam schooners and soon had a large fleet, carrying lumber products from Washington and Oregon ports to central and southern California. In those days such firms acted as selling agents for the sawmills, and, by being constantly informed of the character of logs on hand, could accept business with no delay and also arrange for transportation.

Sudden & Christenson were agents for the Aberdeen Lumber & Shingle Co., Hoquiam Lumber & Shingle Co., and the Hulbert Mill Co. on Grays Harbor; Raymond Lumber Co., and Silver Mill Co., on Willapa Harbor; and the Prosper Mill Co. at Bandon, Oregon. John A. Hooper and Edwin Christenson became close friends and over the years transacted a large amount of business, particularly for delivery to the San Pedro Lumber Co. Steam schooners operated by Sudden & Christenson were the *Norwood,* wherein Hooper owned $^{1}/_{10}$ interest; the *Raymond* ($^{1}/_{8}$); the *Willapa* ($^{1}/_{8}$); the *Grays Harbor* ($^{6}/_{32}$); and the *Carmel* ($^{7}/_{100}$).

The firm of E. & E. T. Kruse, although not mill agents, operated the steamers *Helena* and *Doris,* in each of which John A. Hooper held a $^{7}/_{100}$ interest.

In addition to Hooper's holdings in the Hanify-operated sailing ships, mentioned above, he held a $^{1}/_{5}$ interest in their steamers *Santa Barbara* and *Santa Monica* and a $^{1}/_{8}$ interest in the *San Pedro;* he also made purchases of lumber from the firm. His eldest son, Albert C., was a partner in J. R. Hanify & Co. until his retirement from business in 1906. (The name of Frank P. Hooper does not appear in this later record, as his death occurred in 1904.)

Until the San Francisco earthquake of April 18, 1906, the Hoopers had for many years occupied offices at No. 4 California Street, San Francisco. The firm's papers were kept in three large safes; in the conflagration that followed the earthquake, the safes fell through the wooden floors to the street level. Nearly everything was charred beyond recognition. Shortly afterwards, many of the lumbermen in the city banded together and constructed a large frame shed on Steuart Street, with cubby-hole offices. There they carried on business until the debris was cleared away and more substantial quarters were available. Lunch places were non-existent during this Steuart-Street episode, but a ferryboat moored to the wharf provided the necessary meals. After reconstruction, this time of brick and stone, John A. Hooper opened at No. 110 Market Street, formerly No. 4 California.

Some ten years later there was a resurgence of interest in shipping. The first World War was disrupting normal business and the British were badly in need of more tonnage. A large, Pacific Mail coal-burning steamer, the *Algoa*, lying in San Francisco Bay, had been put up for sale. She had the reputation of being slow and cumbersome; for eight of her twelve years of existence, it was said, she had been tied up in various ports. Upon hearing of this offer for sale, a group of men consummated the purchase, John A. Hooper taking a one-half interest. The new owners christened the ship *California* and made drastic improvements to cut down the quantity of fuel consumed. After a short period of profitable operation, little effort was required to dispose of the vessel to the Harley Steamship Co. in 1916.

In 1912, Sudden & Christenson constructed the *John A. Hooper*, one of the first large, steel, lumber-carrying steamers, with a capacity of 2,250,000 board-feet; John A. had a 1/10 interest in the ship, which, with the opening of the Panama Canal, made several voyages to the Atlantic coast. It was sold in 1921.

Hooper was not adverse, his associates pointed out, to speculate at times, as in the case of the *Walküre*. During the month of June 1915, his attention was drawn to a newspaper item, saying that the consulate-general of France at San Francisco had been advised by the governor of Tahiti that tenders were to be asked for the gunboat *Zelee*, sunk by German cruisers on September 22, 1914, at Papeete, capital city of Tahiti in the Society Islands; and also for the wreck of the German cargo boat *Walküre*, a vessel of 3836 tons gross, which had some 2000 tons of phosphate and 1300 tons of coal in her hold. She was mostly under water and at only a short distance from shore. Conditions of sale and any further particulars were to be obtained at the consulate-general of France at San Francisco.

Hooper sent representatives to the sale. Upon the opening of bids, the highest was found to have been made by John A. Hooper. The steamer was successfully floated January 1, 1916, and on January twenty-second she was christened the *Republic*. The total cost of salvage and repairs had amounted to about $250,000. The vessel was sold to the Chile Exploration Co. and the allied Braden Copper Co., at the reported price of $1,200,000. Thus the venture was not only highly profitable but represented an achievement hailed as remarkable in the shipping world. Repercussion from the incident went further: in 1916 appeared a Cappy Ricks story, written by Peter B. Kyne and based on the salvaging of the *Republic*, it being intimated, to Hooper's pleasure, that he was in the author's mind as model for the hero.

In the American steamer *Edna*, formerly the Mexican steamer *Mazatlan* (and, before that, the converted oil-burning Norwegian steamer *Jason*), John A. Hooper had a considerable interest. Seizure of the vessel by the British during 1914 was followed by the passage of almost twenty years before Hooper's and his associates' claim was settled by an award of $78,025.83 to the owners, to which was added interest in the amount of $25,748.50.

HIS SAN FRANCISCO REAL-ESTATE INTERESTS

In 1916, the property at the corner of Stockton and Geary, on which stands the City of Paris, was purchased by John A. Hooper from John H. Spring. The site had been the headquarters of the Spring Valley Water Co., and, a few years after the earthquake and fire of 1906, it had been rebuilt for the City of Paris. The reported price was somewhat over $1,000,000, Hooper making payment in cash. In 1916, also, he acquired from the Emma Merritt estate a lot on the west side of Battery Street between California and Pine, and erected a six-story loft building which he leased to L. Dinkelspiel & Co., wholesale dry-goods merchants. After some ten years, Dinkelspiel & Co. was merged with Walton N. Moore & Co. and the property was sold by Hooper's heirs. The building then became a public garage. Subsequently it was sold to the Dollar interests and is at present known as the R. Stanley Dollar Building.

Several of John A. Hooper's real-estate purchases were in the financial district, indicating his confidence in San Francisco as a money center. He seems to have had an uncanny sense of values, and during his later years he was successful in making several quick turnovers in San Francisco business properties.

The "Knave" page of the Oakland *Tribune* for February 5, 1922, said:

> An interesting story is told of the promptness with which John A. Hooper acts when a proposition is put up to him. It is to the effect that a broker met him one day near the corner of Montgomery and California streets and informed him that the building on the northwest corner could be purchased from the Parrott estate. Hooper authorized the broker to make an offer, which the latter did immediately. The offer was accepted and the deal closed all within an hour.

What would Hooper do with the Parrott Building, erected in 1852? The question puzzled San Francisco realtors and financiers. It was rumored that he had paid $537,500 for it. In December 1925, announcement was made that within three months the historic, three-story structure would give way to a skyscraper: a syndicate of Montgomery Street financiers had purchased the building and its site from Hooper and had decreed that the then-existing use of the property was no longer consistent with San Francisco land values. Twelve months passed and there towered in its place the Financial Center Building, which added a full dozen stories to its predecessor's exalted record.

At the time of his death, John A. Hooper was the owner of some of the most valuable pieces of real estate in San Francisco. His holdings directly to the south in San Mateo County, purchased for his family's recreation, will be described later in this paper. In addition was his purchase, with other members of his family, of a small ranch of about 74 acres at Colma. In 1910, Valota Park, just west of Redwood City, was bought for a subdivision, which was not to be fully completed until 1925. Farther south, in Santa Barbara, he invested in some 353 acres, which subsequently became part of the Hope Ranch development. Also acquired in Santa Barbara, and held for several years, were parcels of land on Montecito Street and at Bath and Cota streets.

OTHER INTERESTS

Of John A. Hooper's other business activities: from 1907 on, he was a stockholder in the California Cotton Mills of Oakland, serving for a time as a director and as vice-president. Also for a time he was a member of the board of directors of the Stockton Electric Railway Co. He was one of the first directors of the Mercantile Life Insurance Co. of San Francisco; and from 1921, he was a shareholder in the San Francisco Remedial Loan Association, an organization devoted to making loans at a low rate of interest, having as its primary object the helping of the small borrower and the ultimate eradication of the loan shark. (After many years of usefulness, the association is being liquidated in 1952.)

Among the enterprises Hooper was interested in, that proved to be unprofitable, were the San Francisco Shipbuilding Co., which, during the first World War, made the attempt to put into service five concrete barges; the Classen Chemical Co., which tried to manufacture alcohol from wood waste, but was unsuccessful; also, about 1899, he associated himself with Balfour, Guthrie & Co. in the Avenal Land & Oil Co., operating on an 18,000-acre ranch in Kings County but not living up to expectations; he was interested likewise in the Aetna Petroleum Co., whose wells south of Coalinga produced comparatively small quantities of oil. The corporation was liquidated in 1948.

Among John A. Hooper's civic interests was the Merchants Exchange, in existence from the early 1850's and which the Hooper brothers — John A., F. P., George W., and Charles A. — joined upon its incorporation in 1901. John A. was president in 1905-1906, his term extending by a little over a month (May 25, 1906) beyond the day of the earthquake (April 18, 1906).

Another civic service he performed was in connection with the holding of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915; it marked completion of the Panama Canal the year before. As shipping men, and as pioneers who had traveled the Isthmian land-route, the Hoopers were keenly interested in the development of an inter-ocean waterway. John A.

and his brother Charles A. were among the forty-two subscribers of $25,000 each, who insured stability to the exposition's financial structure. John A. Hooper also served, on a voluntary basis, as allocator of lumber purchases during the exposition's construction period.

Hooper believed in conservation, in good forestry practices, and was a member of the American Forestry Association. In 1920 he joined the then recently-established Save-the-Redwoods League. How much attention he gave to the conservation and happiness of his own family may be surmised from the chronicles that follow.

FAMILY CHRONICLES

In 1866, the John A. Hoopers moved into the house at 30 Rincon Place, which was to be their home for a score of years. Rincon Hill, then a fashionable residence district of San Francisco, had taken its name (signifying, in California Spanish, inside corner of a projection into the sea or bay) from a spur that jutted into the harbor. Much of the hill has now been cut away, and the locality, thoroughly commercial and industrial, serves as the western terminus of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. A nearby residence district used to be at South Park, between Bryant, Brannan, Second and Third streets.

The Hoopers of Rincon Hill have been presented in a period portrait, in prose, by a member of the family, Jessie Hooper Greaves, in a small book, *I Remember, I Remember*, written for her relatives and friends, and privately printed in 1939. The family consisted of the parents and seven children – Albert, Mary, Alice, Jessie, Jeannette, Frank, and Arthur. The house was two-story, with basement and attic, painted white and set well back from the street. In the garden, the pride of Mrs. Hooper, were Martha Washington geraniums and large yellow crocus, the latter a typical New England cultivated plant. The parents' bedroom was at the front of the house, and on this room's wallpaper "gold swans swam around in black circles." From the south windows of the nursery, at the back of the house, one got a panorama of San Francisco Bay – an infinite source of entertainment for the children, who spent much time watching the boats and birds.

"Our Rincon Hill house was a real home," Mrs. Greaves says,

> with no claims to beauty or ostentation. . . . There was, of course no central heat; small coal-burning fireplaces in the sitting room and nursery. . . . Lighting fixtures were gas jets on the side walls and we must certainly have read in the evening by a very bad light. Our house contained a billiard room, and after dinner my bachelor uncles, who lived only a few short blocks away, used to come to the house for a game. There were bookcases at one end of the room with cupboards below where my father kept bottles of Napa soda, and I never knew anything stronger to be served.
>
> We had a bouquet of wax flowers under a glass bowl on the mantelpiece and when I had an opportunity to pinch off a leaf or bud it made fine chewing.

As did so many gentlemen of the period, John A. Hooper wore a full beard. His eyes, and his hair in those years, were dark brown. In stature, he was about five feet nine inches tall and hardy of constitution. He had only one slight illness during his years in San Francisco. Mrs. Greaves points out that he had early learned to be independent and thrifty. "I think my grandmother would have liked her boys to have had college educations, but such was not to be for any of the six sons."

According to her daughter, Mrs. John A. Hooper was a frail woman, but "the most vivacious person I ever knew in spite of a delicate constitution.... She was musical, had been an amateur singer as a girl, and could have won distinction as a concert singer had she not married young. She used to sing snatches from opera; 'Una Voce Poco Fa' [from Rossini's *Barber of Seville*] I can well remember."

Mrs. John Hooper, Mrs. Greaves' paternal grandmother, she describes as "an indomitable little woman, vigorous and proud as Lucifer, a cheerful and courageous New Englander with the firm convictions of her generation." She and her other sons — Mrs. Greaves' uncles — were often at John A.'s Rincon-Hill house: Franklin Perry Hooper, John A.'s partner; Charles Appleton and George Williams Hooper, lumber and lumber-products dealers on a large and varied scale (the former's daughter, Isabel, is the widow of Wigginton Creed,* and the name of the latter is perpetuated in the George Williams Hooper Foundation, devoted to medical research, at the University of California); Arthur Appleton Hooper, associated with Thomas Jennings, and later with George Jennings, in the wholesale groceries and East-India goods business. William Horace Hooper, his father's mining partner, died in 1879. Of the Hooper children's aunts, Mary, the eldest sister, died at the age of seventeen, and Martha died in infancy. Isabel married William E. Norwood, who, for some years and at the time of his death in 1890, was president of the San Francisco Stock Exchange. Their daughter, Evelyn, married William F. Breeze of San Francisco.

In 1883, John A. Hooper was offered the opportunity, which he readily accepted, of purchasing from E. W. Burr the Mountain Home Ranch, 384 acres of wooded land in the Portola Valley near the tiny village of Searsville, which has since vanished. One hundred and twenty acres of the northerly part of the ranch were sold in 1888 to C. F. A. Talbot, with whom Hooper had business associations. The historic name of the ranch, traceable on a map of 1862, prepared by John P. Gaynor in an effort to sell some 905 acres in villa sites, continued to pertain to the main portion (264 acres) of the Hooper property.

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*Wigginton Creed died on August 6, 1927. Among the offices he held, as listed in the directory for the previous year, were: president, C. A. Hooper & Co.; director, Associated Oil Co.; president, Columbia Steel Corp.; director, East Bay Water Co.; president, Pacific Gas & Electric Co.; director, Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.

From six to twelve weeks each summer, during the Hooper children's vacation, the family moved to the ranch, using the adobe there for sleeping quarters and the other house for cooking and meals. In this frame building were the foreman's quarters, besides a kitchen, over which presided a Chinese cook. The lower floor of the dwelling was the adobe that had been built in 1835 by Charles Brown, whose narrative of "Early Events in California" is in the Bancroft Library. Upstairs in the house were four bedrooms and a bath. Later were added four more bedrooms and two more baths. The way the children made their own good times at the Mountain Home Ranch is described by Mrs. Greaves, in her book of recollections referred to above. The creek had been suitably dammed, so that the young men of the family could learn to swim. But, she says,

> for some unknown reason we girls did not. There was no desire for those of the feminine sex to excel in sports and we did not know what we had missed. Some did fine needlework and sat for hours sewing in the shade. In fact, to be athletic was considered to be "unlady-like," while to be delicate was to be genteel. We girls did enjoy rowing on the little lake in the boat "Lucy," especially in the twilight after a hot day. We rowed and sang "Three Blind Mice" and "Scotland's Burning." . . .

Butter was made on the ranch and wine from a ten-acre vineyard; besides, there were an orchard and a vegetable garden, also a smokehouse. "Poultry, cows and pigs," says Mrs. Greaves, "were all on the place, and a vast horde of cats, which hunted during the daytime and assembled at the sound of a gong from the dairy in the early evening. I once counted thirty of these cats around a huge can of skimmed milk. . . ." She mentions a St. Bernard named "Hero," who "lay for several days guarding a ragged coat which one of the hired men had cast off in the field while haymaking." It was an event when six of the larger property owners banded together to install a telephone service – Charles Josselyn, Everett Jones, John A. Hooper, C. F. A. Talbot, Edgar Preston, and Andrew Hallidie. More revolutionary was the change in actual topography wrought by the construction of a dam in 1891 by the Spring Valley Water Co., to impound the waters of Corte Madera, Dennis Martin and Alembique creeks. In the process, the village of Searsville, with its school house and its few small homes, had to be abandoned. Searsville Lake later became the property of Stanford University, and the water is used only for irrigation.

Another tract of land was owned by the family – some 1360 acres on the upper reaches of Pescadero Creek, where many hours were spent under the redwoods and firs. Shelter was provided by a small cottage, built on a promontory around which the creek flowed, and which bore the descriptive name of "Bendmore." This country place, also in San Mateo County, was only about eighteen miles south of Mountain Home Ranch. In 1924, John A. Hooper sold the land to the Shriners, who held it for a few years and then disposed of it to the state. It is now Portola Redwoods State Park.

By 1888, No. 30 Rincon Place had become inadequate for John A. Hooper's family. A lot on the northwest corner of Clay and Laguna was acquired and in the following year (1889) the house at 2201 Laguna Street was finished and occupied.

Across the street, and occupying four square blocks, was Holladay Hill, then an undeveloped sand lot deriving its name from Sam Holladay, who had taken up residence under squatter's rights and continuously and successfully resisted efforts to oust him. This land now constitutes Lafayette Square. On a high point of the hill stood, for twenty years, the private observatory of Prof. George Davidson, one of California's pioneer scientists. Its site is now within the public square.

There were then few houses in the neighborhood. The residence of the Henry T. Scott family stood opposite the Hoopers, and here President and Mrs. William McKinley visited in 1901. Mrs. McKinley became so ill that police maintained a constant guard, to see that quiet prevailed in the streets of the neighborhood. (She recovered, it will be remembered, but, shortly after their return to the east, the President was assassinated at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, on September 14, 1901.)

On May 26, 1900, Mrs. Mary Campbell Hooper died at the age of fifty-three. Her husband was to survive her for a quarter of a century.

Of the John A. Hooper family of seven children, the eldest was Albert Campbell Hooper, a bachelor, who resided in Palo Alto. He was a partner in the shipping firm of J. R. Hanify & Co. In 1906 he retired from business. During his travels and residence for four years in Italy, he collected paintings and objets d'art, which, before his death, in 1944, he presented to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. The bulk of his large estate was left to the University of California for cancer research.

Mary McIntyre Hooper, the eldest of the four daughters, married Dr. George B. Somers. For many years before his death, he was physician-superintendent of Stanford Hospital, San Francisco. Of their three sons, the youngest survives.

Alice Maud Hooper married Dr. Albert B. McKee, eye, ear, nose and throat specialist. Four of their five sons survive and are living in central and southern California, engaged in business. Mrs. McKee has made her home in Woodside for many years.

Jessie Appleton Hooper was married to Henry Oscar Beatty, son of Judge William H. Beatty, one-time chief justice of the Supreme Court of California. She later became the wife of Thomas T. Greaves. Several references have been made, above, to her book of recollections.

Jeannette Stanwood Hooper is the wife of Arthur Burling Foote, son of the authoress Mary Hallock Foote. He was manager of the North Star Mine in Grass Valley, where they still reside. They have three daughters and ten grandchildren.

Frank Perry Hooper entered his father's business after finishing his schooling, and made the lumber and shipping business his life work. He married Charlotte Morehouse, and one son was born to them.

Arthur Willard Hooper was graduated from Stanford University in 1905, and spent several years with Sudden & Christenson, the shipping and lumber firm mentioned above. Later he managed, jointly with his brother Frank P., the Hooper Lumber Co. in San Francisco until its sale in 1919. Following this, he engaged in lumber import and export, and at present is managing his father's estate. His wife, the former Josephine Hannigan, bore him a son and a daughter.

This ends the roll-call of John A. Hooper's immediate family. He had a light-hearted way of bantering his children in order to put over a point, and continued to do this up to the age of eighty-seven, when he wrote the following to one of his daughters:

Confound the careless girl who writes
  To me so I can't read it!
I'd like to give her some advice,
  But I don't think she'd heed it.
She takes her pen and makes a scrawl!
  (The crazier the better . . .)
Sticks on a stamp
  And blithely mails the letter.
I turn it sideways, upside down,
  To read her hieroglyphics.
Before I've wasted half-an-hour,
  My language is terrific.
I know it's useless, but this hint
  I give to all who need it:
"Confound the careless girl who writes
  To me so I can't read it!"

FULL SPEED AHEAD AT OVER EIGHTY

The morning of January 10, 1923, the San Francisco *Examiner* carried, on its first page, the following news item:

> *FIRST NATIONAL BANK OUSTS SPRECKELS*
>
> Rudolph Spreckels, for seventeen years the president of the First National Bank of San Francisco, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the stockholders at the annual election yesterday, and with him fell the nine directors who have loyally supported him.
>
> John A. Hooper was elected president in his stead.
>
> As a result of Spreckels' defeat, it is likely that the question of merging with the Crocker National Bank will come up for early consideration.

In the San Francisco *Chronicle* of the same date appeared an interview one of its reporters had had with an attorney in the case: " 'The work of the special stockholders' committee has been accomplished, the bank is in the hands of its stockholders,' was the statement of Allen Chickering, spokesman for the 'opposition party' and one of a half dozen or more legal luminaries who have guided its procedure." Thus empowered, the stockholders had seated a widely-representative new board of directors, which included former "opposition" member Walter S. Martin, president of the Eastern

Oregon Land Co., and a new member, Robert E. Easton, secretary and manager of the Santa Maria Gas Co. in southern California. The in-coming directors had then organized and had proceeded to the election of Hooper as president; James K. Moffitt, vice-president; and E. Avenali, vice-president and cashier, the remaining offices as then held.

The disaffection within the First National Bank had begun in 1916, when Rudolph Spreckels, presiding at an evening meeting held at Dreamland Rink on July 20, 1916, to protest against preparations for the nation's defense, had "made six speeches," according to the *Examiner* of July twenty-first, and had read some resolutions which, he said, had been passed the night before by a local organization.

Offended by Spreckels' support of the anti-preparedness doctrine, John A. Hooper had resigned from the directorate of the First National and his action had subsequently been followed by Mark Requa. During the intervening years, however, Hooper had retained his interests in the bank; when a new president was needed, he was chosen. Presidency of the First National Bank carried with it the presidency of the associated First Federal Trust Co. (Hooper had been a stockholder and director of the Mutual Savings Bank until 1919, when it was purchased by the First National.) According to the "Knave," in the Oakland *Tribune* of January 14, 1923: "The consensus of opinion now is that if the bank has suffered from antagonisms of the recent several years and the agitations that have more recently become pronounced, it is due to profit now with such a shrewd financier at the helm as Captain Hooper."

A reporter for the San Francisco *Chronicle* interviewed Hooper after his election, and on January 11, 1923, gave his impressions in a special article accompanied by Hooper's picture:

> . . . He wears a short, neatly trimmed white beard – which, by the way, is the only beard that will be visible at future directors' meetings.
>
> Keen dark eyes which fairly pierce you, give him the bearing of a man that can hold his own in a trade. The sharpness of the eyes, however, is softened by a kindly smile when he talks.
>
> . . . .
>
> "There is only one sure rule for success," he said when asked if he could account for the family's gains. "That is by saving."
>
> . . . .
>
> The walls of his offices are adorned with photographs of ships and office buildings, Hooper being a large owner of San Francisco real estate. "I am pretty well out of ships," he explained. "I went out with the tide," meaning that he sold before the smash in ship values.

Hooper's death on December 29, 1925, was sudden: although eighty-seven years of age, he had rallied remarkably from an operation and was planning to assume, after the first of the year, the chairmanship of the board of the combined Crocker and First National banks. In an "In Memoriam" by his friend and associate, James K. Moffitt, written on the eve of formalities connected with the merger, the author said that on the next day,

> joining forces with a kindred institution, the bank would go forward to new fields of service and activity, under a form and plan which he played a large part in shaping. Mr. Hooper accepted the presidency at a time of stress and discouragement. His name and reputation restored confidence alike to the public and shareholders, and his sagacity and energy unravelled, one after another, the problems which confronted it. To the directors, and especially to the officers, his ripened wisdom, youthful vigor, power of rapid decision and forward viewpoint were a source of continued admiration and inspiration.

As to the Old Adobe on Mountain Home Ranch — in 1935, when its centennial was being celebrated, L. W. ("Larry") Harris, referring to Hooper's hospitality and many unknown kindnesses to others, said: "Perhaps Mr. Hooper and the Old Adobe just understood that they were never to tell, one on the other — I like to believe they must have had that understanding."

A French Pessimist in California

The Correspondence of J. Lombard, Vice-Consul of France, 1850-1852

Translated, with Introduction and Notes,

By A. P. Nasatir

(Concluded)

[Lombard to Minister, 10 February 1851, *continued:*]

It is to be hoped that ameliorations will be brought to the present state of things, but as I had the honor of writing you in my last report, until the present emigration, made up of bandits and looters, for the most part the scum of the American nation, has given way to a more honest and moral population, one cannot count on anything serious and really durable in this country.

To the raising of cattle, which, as I have stated above, is the principal and most lucrative industry, can be advantageously added a limited cultivation — that is to say, a cultivation sufficient for the alimentation of the country — of all the products necessary to life. I say restricted cultivation, because the arable lands being comprehended in a rectangle of from twenty to thirty leagues wide by four hundred and twenty-five leagues in length (American California extends from thirty-two to forty-nine degrees north latitude), it is evident that many years will pass before emigration, as rapid as it is — which is hardly probable — can reach a number of emigrants so that the price of wages lowering in proportion, this country can export with success and advantageously compete with similar products of Mexico, Central America and the Islands of Oceania.

All is not so marvelously beautiful as one was pleased to state recently and I would not be surprised if California became, in the end or for a long time to come, more of a charge than a profit to the American nation. The example of Texas contributes not a little to give birth to my doubts, which are augmented by the numerous private ruins, and the grave financial embarrassment of the state. Money has reached the exorbitant rate of interest of ten per cent per month. Even at this price it is very rare and very difficult to obtain, considering the dearth of this metal as well as the almost total absence of gold-dust. Public stocks (state warrants, state bonds and city scrips)[43] lose on an average from thirty-five to fifty-five per cent of their initial capital. . . . Gold dust is asked for at seventeen piastres per ounce. Such is the present situation.

I learn that a ship loaded with emigrants[44] left Le Hâvre last October, bound for Monterey. I have already started to procure work for those among them who seriously desire to occupy themselves in agriculture, and I do not doubt that with economy and management they will succeed in earning an honest living for themselves. In my opinion there is nothing better to do for the man who, like nearly all of our emigrants, arrives here without any other fortune than his two arms and his energy.

The house and properties of Mr. Moerenhout, former consul of France[45] were sold at auction. The entire produced a sum of thirty-nine hundred piastres. The house alone and its adjacent ground had cost fifteen thousand piastres.

In concluding this letter, Monsieur le Ministre, allow me to call your benevolent attention to the absolute insufficiency of my pay. And in the hope that you will be good enough to advise,

I am with respect, Monsieur le Ministre,
Your very humble and very obedient servant,
The vice-consul of France,
J. LOMBARD

A Monsieur le Ministre, Secrétaire d'État des Affaires Étrangères, Paris

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V

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey, March 20, 1851[46]

Monsieur le Ministre:

Since my last despatch under date of February tenth, last,[47] and which I had the honor to transmit to you via San Francisco, the general condition of this country has not been ameliorated, and assassinations, thefts and deterioration, which I then pointed out, far from diminishing have taken on a greater extension. Not a day goes by but that some new underhanded work is pointed out to me. Just yesterday, I was informed that someone stole from a ranch in this neighborhood approximately nine hundred head of cattle, representing an effective capital of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand francs.

A very curious detail which occurred in the accomplishment of this theft, and one which indicates, not only the perverse nature of its authors, but also the deplorable tendencies of the authorities invested with the power to maintain the good order of things and to have properties respected, deserves to be brought to your knowledge.

As soon as the theft was committed, the proprietor ordered search made for the cattle, and, with the really surprising aptitude which the natives possess to recognize and to trace the prints of their herds to immense distances, they were able to find part of it in the neighborhood of Stockton, a town situated fifty leagues from Monterey.

The first step to take was to go to the sheriff of that locality, inform him of the theft, and ask him for help and protection. This step did take place, but, much to the surprise of the plaintiffs, they were answered that nothing indicated that this cattle belonged to them. In spite of the fact that they pointed out their mark — a distinctive sign, crest of a new style, which served to differentiate the families as much as their herds — nothing succeeded. They were enjoined to show a certificate of property from the judge of their district.

Notwithstanding the distances and the delays which resulted, they hastened to conform with that order. One of the plaintiffs went out and returned soon with the document required. It was then that the sheriff, placed in position to act, found nothing better to do but to imprison this man, until the thieves, his compatriots, could get rid of their booty and thus make every evidence of guilt disappear.

It would be difficult, Monsieur le Ministre, from such a long distance, to get a real idea of the state of anarchy and loot which exists in this country.

The mines not having responded to the expectation of emigration, and trade finding itself almost annihilated in all the centers of population, bands of miscreants organized themselves at all points, so as to have recourse to guilty means in order to realize, *in spite of anything*, their deceived hopes. Once in that path, any means used is condoned. And thus it is that each day brings us a new factor to add to the sad series of those already mentioned.

In my report of January twentieth,[48] I stated that California, financially speaking, was a deplorable business for the government of the United States. Today, I do not fear to say that, from the moral standpoint, she equals a public calamity.

At long odds, it might be that one can recover, in a lapse of time which I cannot predict, the hundreds of millions madly spent for this ridiculous conquest; but what will never be recovered are the good traditions forever lost — respect for property, love of work, loyalty in transactions, obedience to the law. All these moral virtues, which are the safeguards of states, here receive each day such cruel blows.

Of the mass of emigrants who have visited this region since the discovery of the placer mines, there is not one who has not picked up the seeds of the worst passions and the most perverted instincts, in exchange for the good tendencies and honest habits which he brought. As for the very numerous class of murderers and looters who have reached in one leap the last rung of crime — who are disseminated in the countryside which they infest with their brigandage, always unpunished, if not protected, by a criminally negligent administration — their very presence in this country renders colonization for a long time the more impossible.

Monsieur le Ministre, I had hoped to be able to address to you, in this report, some useful information concerning the state of the mines, properly so-called. Unfortunately, I am completely lacking in precise information of this subject. What is certain is that, up to now, not one has been authentically recognized, and, with the exception of the mercury mine of Santa Clara,[49] not one is actually being exploited. The only persons, who could facilitate these researches, are the Californians and the Mexicans of the province of Sonora; but they have been, and continue to be, so ill-treated by the Americans that they remain obstinately silent on the subject.

Moreover, the Congress of the United States has not yet regulated this important branch of the public domain. Mexican law, which made the discoverer, under certain conditions, proprietor of the mine where it was located, is abolished; and, until a new law, efficiently protective of all interests, is promulgated, it is certain that nothing will be done in this respect. Many persons of the country have insisted to me that they know of rich deposits of minerals of all kinds. Even some samples have been confidentially presented to me. But I repeat, the hatred of the American is such that these men prefer to die poor beside a treasure, rather than run the risk, probable anyway, of being robbed by their new masters.

A measure that is being discussed at this moment, in Washington, is not of a nature to reassure them. It pertains to nothing less than the naming of a commission charged with the duty of verifying the titles of property actually existing in California.[50] If this measure only applied to lands acquired since the American conquest, one could understand it. But the law says more. It reaches the landlords established in this country since the Spanish domination, and whom the sole fact of possession should render untouchable in all respects. It is evident that, apart from the one-thousand-and-one means the commission will have to invalidate a considerable quantity of titles — in a country where, due to the distance away from the metropolis, all was not always perfectly regular — the law, in recognizing as valid only the properties the extent of which will not exceed that which the Mexican law allows possession of by right of concession, and in appropriating the difference, necessarily amounts to legal robbery. It is really deplorable to see the government of the United States enter such a course.

The Indians[51] who, by good means and gentleness, under the Spanish and Mexican governments, had been usefully employed in agriculture, having themselves much to suffer from the greediness and brutality of the Americans, decided to abandon their old rancherías, and nearly everywhere have turned themselves into open warfare with the Anglo-Saxon race.

In short, discontent is general, and among the natives there reigns such a thirst for vengeance that everything presages struggle. This will have no less an effect than to augment the actual uneasiness by adding a new element to the numerous causes of discredit, instability and misery already existing.

The placers have not improved since my last despatches. The excitement of the Gold Bluff fainted away, the most complete failure has confirmed my predictions. The auriferous quartz, from which they are still trying to extract ore, doubtlessly will have the same fate.[52] Therefore, Monsieur le Ministre, all is doubtful, precarious and problematical in this country of fantastic wealth, and it would be really desirable that our compatriots put a stop to an emigration which only predicts for them ruin, misery and deception.

Mr. Moerenhout[53] has at last sent me the archives of the consulate. These archives are composed of some unclassified [depareillées] ordinances and four bundles of letters or diverse papers. Neither minutes nor registers exist in his package.

This former agent informs me that he has charged those who exercise his powers-of-attorney to claim from the department the refund of advances made by him for the purchase of samples of gold sent to France, as well as for pay to the department of the navy, the twenty-six gold ounces received by him as deposit and emanating from the estate of Sieur Signac [*sic*], who died at the placers in 1849.[54] I have informed the consul of the Republic at San Francisco of these facts, and I have asked him to be good enough to transmit them to the minister of the navy.

I have the honor of being, with deep respect, Monsieur le Ministre, your very humble and very obedient servant,

The vice-consul J. Lombard

P. S.

This report was already written when I was advised that a band of Americans had carried off two thousand head of cattle from a rancho in the south, after having murdered the keepers by surprise.

I also learned that the inhabitants of Stockton, indignant at the conduct of the sheriff in the affair of the theft mentioned in my report, seized the culprits themselves, who at this moment of writing in all probability must have suffered the law of lynching.[55]

VI

Lombard to Minister

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey, April 25, 1851[56]

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor to inform you that the three-masted French ship, "Le Courrier de Cherbourg," Captain Hairon, coming from Le Hâvre, freighted by the company, "La Fortune,"[57] and having on board seventy-two passengers and approximately three hundred barrels of goods and victuals, entered this port on the seventh of March.

This company has this in particular over its predecessors: that it ceased to exist before even having set foot on Californian soil. The chief of the expedition, Mr. Thibault, eldest son, presented himself at my quarters on the very evening of his arrival.

He asked me for news of his acting-director [directeur-gérant] Mr. Thibault, senior,[58] who, according to him, should have (by way of Panama) preceded the expedition to Monterey.

I was unable to furnish him with any useful information on this subject. Mr. Thibault, Junior, told me of the financial embarrassment of the company, dating from Valparaiso, where the lack of funds and news had obliged him to make a first loan from the Captain of the vessel.

This first visit ended in the hope that they would find letters at the Monterey post-office which would explain this long silence, and especially the necessary funds to face the first needs.

This hope was of short duration. The next day Mr. Thibault returned to my house and informed me of the total absence of news from France, and consequently his absolute impossibility to fill his contracted engagements towards the associated workmen, and the resolution that he had taken for the purpose of safeguarding the merchandise and protect himself, to place all his powers in my hands (see enclosure number one). This measure was all the more to be expected since I had informed Mr. Thibault on the previous day that all the goods excepting the victuals had been sold by the acting director-manager of the company "La Fortune" to M. M. de Rothschild.

The question was then to announce this news to the passengers of the "Courrier" whose irritation, increased by demi-confidences, threatened to translate itself into acts of violence towards the director-delegate and the commissary of victuals. It was understood I would take care of this matter, and, having given the order to bring a deputation of five of them before me, I exposed to them the unforeseen embarrassment in which their chiefs [*sic*] found themselves, the impossibility for him [*sic*] to fulfill the engagements of the company and the resignation he had made of his powers into my hands.

At first there were rather loud recriminations, but a conciliating and at the same time firm language succeeded in making them see reason. The company was instantly dissolved. Notwithstanding the promise made to me by the five delegates, the position on board not being safe for the two agents of the company, I authorized them to disembark the next day.

Now, it pertained to the ship, whose entry into customs, according to the terms of the law, must be effected within forty-eight hours. There was not one centime in the company's coffer, and what is more, as above mentioned, the merchandise had been entirely sold even before the arrival of the ship. I then had to find a consigner, who entered the vessel, took into consignment the parts of the cargo not yet alienated, under the express condition on his part to pay the customs duties on the total amount of cargo, as well as all other expenses of disembarkation.

The captain, by reason of his charte partie [charter-party, or lease of a vessel] was bound to deliver the said merchandise sous palan [by hoisting-gear] only on shore. After some conferences with Messrs. Curtis and Murdock, the latter being mayor of Monterey, I agreed with them on this point.

During this interval, the disembarkation of the passengers took place. On my being assured of a locality on which tents could be placed, I soon had everyone ashore. The men were without any kind of resources. I obtained from the collector of customs that they should receive a ration of biscuits from the ship each day. It was also permitted them to disembark free of duty their personal effects and some instruments of work. I had distributed to each man a half-pound of fresh meat per day and I hastened to try and take care of their future. For this purpose I convoked the principal proprietors of Monterey in a meeting and, following this conference, it was decided that all those who were willing to devote themselves to agriculture, would be lodged and nourished, would receive the seeds, working instruments and the necessary animals for the cultivation of the ground, and would have furthermore an equal share to half or two-thirds of the harvest.

The next day this proposition was accepted by a part of the workmen, and the contracts took place. The other part of the men desiring to go to the mines, I had given to them, as fast as they departed, about ten pounds of biscuits per man. A butcher, a gardener, a teacher Mademoiselle Tournache, the doctor and chaplain of the company through my offices were established in Monterey proper with good wages, and under date of yesterday, there remained here only the engineer, whom I had embarked this morning on board a Chilean vessel "La Marianita," which, at my request, was good enough to transport him free of charge to San Francisco.

On the sixteenth the unloading began. I hope that by Monday the twenty-eighth, all that belongs to the company will be unloaded. I purposely make this restriction, Monsieur le Ministre, as barely two months after the departure from Le Hâvre of the vessel, "Le Courrier," the entire merchandise strictly speaking, provisions alone being exempt, was sold à des tiers [to a third party]. Mr. Davidson, agent of M. M. de Rothschild at San Francisco, so advised me on the twenty-eighth of March, last, having received from his firm in Paris, the bills of lading for one-hundred and twenty-five tons of English coal, ten barrels of l'esprit de vin, three barrels of liquor (eau-de-vie), one barrel of cognac, twelve barrels of vinegar, seventy-six barrels of Bordeaux wine, six cases of glass-ware, eleven barrels of nails and sixty-nine cases of divers merchandise.

Messrs. Isnard and Cann of Le Hâvre begged me on their part to be good enough, upon the arrival of the "Courrier de Cherbourg," to retain one-hundred-and-fifty cases of liquors ceded them by Mr. Thibault, senior.

These last objects have been remitted to the legal representatives of Messrs. Isnard and Cann. As for the goods consigned, ceded or sold to M. M. de Rothschild, they are still on board awaiting the further resolutions of Mr. Davidson, to whom I wrote under date of the eighth of this month.

The sale of provisions has started. Some of them are selling very well, but there are others that will never attain their French prices.

In short, this enterprise is a deplorable business, like all those of the same category. Apart from the waste aboard, the thefts committed, the lack of order established in the accounts of the provisions, one cannot imagine serious minded people shipping coal from France to California, whilst Sydney furnishes superabundantly at relatively minimum prices, and entrusting interests of such importance to a fourrier de regiment [non-commissioned quarter-master] entirely strange to this type of business, and whose conduct aboard, if I believe the reports which were given me, was nothing less than exemplary.

On the thirteenth, the commissary of victuals also handed me his resignation. Therefore, I am now actually the holder of: first, the power-of-attorney given by Mr. Thibault, senior, to his son; second, the charter-party of the ship; third, thirty-eight blank promissary notes of ten thousand francs each, underwritten by the workmen;[60] fourth, forty-seven contracts taken by these same workmen; fifth and finally, the books and registers of the victuals — commissary.

I have rendered a day-by-day account of the diverse phases of this business to Monsieur de Consul Dillon at San Francisco. By tomorrow's mail I await his further directions, and in the interim, I am watching with the greatest care, the interests of the absentees and the liquidation of the merchandise remaining.[61]

The three-masted vessel from Bordeaux, "La Natalie," touched here on the eighteenth, *in forced docking*. On the twenty-first she set out again for San Francisco, with a cargo taken in Chile. Affairs here continue to be in a deplorable state, everything predicts a disastrous operation for this ship.

I am, Monsieur le Ministre, with profound respect, your very humble and very obedient servant,

The vice-consular agent of France,
J. LOMBARD

P. S. Monterey, May 1st, 1851.

Mr. Davidson, agent of Mr. Rothschild who is representing it at San Francisco, arrived here last Sunday, the twenty-seventh instant, to take charge of his merchandise, which he will send to San Francisco, or will sell here at no price. I am really saddened to see this affair reach such sad results.

I hope the unloading of the vessel will be completely terminated within three or four days. The coal is the cause of this disaster. It has just been sold, *taken from aboard*, at four piastres per ton.

J. LOMBARD

The expenses of feeding the passengers, imperatively ordered by their complete lack of resources, and which I had to authorize in order to sustain them, amounts to ninety-one piastres.

J. L.

Enclosure

Monterey, April 9, 1851

Copy

Monsieur le Vice-Consul of France:

The limited joint stock company, "La Fortune," constituted in Paris under the proper name of G. Thibault and Company, and destined to exploit the mines of California, entered the port of Monterey the eighth of this month, on board the three-masted ship, "Le Courrier de Cherbourg," which left Hâvre de Grace October third, last. I have been charged in France, by virtue of a notarial power of attorney, to conduct to California this expedition composed at our arrival of forty-six persons.

After four months at sea, we put into port at Valparaiso on the ninth of February to get fresh food which we were beginning to need. According to the last instructions received from our directeur-gérant, upon our departure from France, I was in hopes of finding news and funds there. My hope was not realized and to face our needs, I found myself obliged to borrow from the captain, commanding the vessel, as will be proved by the financial statement which will be presented you.

In disembarking at Monterey, we were supposed to meet our directeur-gérant, who was to come from France via Panama, and who was to direct us to the placers. New deception, no directeur-gérant, no letters, no money.

In the presence of these facts, finding myself in the impossibility of realizing the goal of the firm—called "La Fortune"—and by this believing my mission ended; and furthermore, in order to cover my responsibility, I have the honor, Monsieur le Consul, to place in your hands the powers which have been entrusted to me and the titles of the company, "La Fortune," which I beg you to be good enough to acknowledge.

Accept, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of my consideration,

[SIGNED] THIBAULT, eldest son

Pour Copie Conformé—The vice-consul of France,

J. LOMBARD

VII

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey, June 14, 1851[62]

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor to inform you of the completion of the sale of provisions of the company, "La Fortune," existing on board the vessel "Le Courrier de Cherbourg" since its arrival at this port.

This sale has produced a sum of fourteen-hundred-and-seventy-two piastres and sixty-seven cents ($1472.67) of which I am the depositary, and which will reach you, Monsieur le Ministre, with accompanying accounts, through the agency of monsieur the consul of the Republic at San Francisco, whom I have advised relative thereunto, and from whom I am awaiting directions as to the surest and most economical way to submit it to him.

In this sum are included the net proceeds of six barrels of Cassis and of one-hundred cases of fruits with eau-de-vie, which I was advised belonged to a Mr. Moussens of Le Hâvre, and which I consequently have had listed in a separate account.

The vessel "Le Courrier" left this port the third of this month, returning to France via Sandwich and Java. During its sojourn here, two men deserted. One of them succeeded in evading all my searches. As for the second, I had him seized on board a steamer bound for San Francisco, and brought back on board his ship, which was thus enabled to put out to sea two days later.

The director of customs of this port, basing himself on I know not what text of law, had exacted the payment of a lighthouse tax of fifty cents per barrel, or one-hundred-and-twenty-two dollars ($122.), the vessel having a capacity of two-hundred-and-forty-four tons.

All my efforts, to have this tax lifted, were fruitless and, for the sake of peace and quiet, and to avoid further delay, I ended by advising the captain to pay. In the meantime, I protested to the director, and referred the matter to his chief in San Francisco, via the intervention of the consulate. The day before yesterday, I received an answer to my letter, and this answer in all respects conforms to my predictions. The tax is illegal, and all that is necessary is a legal document which I asked for immediately from San Francisco so that this sum unduly paid will be returned to me.

If you deem it convenient, Monsieur le Ministre, kindly have the owner of the vessel, Mr. Lelaidier of Cherbourg, informed of the result. This lighthouse tax was all the more unjust, for there has never existed a lighthouse at Monterey and because there probably never will be one.

I am with respect, Monsieur le Ministre, your very humble and very obedient servant,

The vice-consular agent
J. LOMBARD

A Monsieur le Ministre, Secrétaire d'État au Département des Affaires Étrangères de France, à Paris.

Enclosure

Monterey, December 13, 1851

Consular Agency of France at Monterey
Commercial Division — Number 43[63]

Remittance of a draft of five-hundred-and-seventy-five francs, ninety-nine centimes (575 francs, 99 centimes) within sixty days on sight drawn on Mr. Flury Hérard, to the order of Mr. Lelaidier at Cherbourg, armateur of the "Courrier de Cherbourg" à titre de restitution for a lighthouse tax unduly charged on this vessel.

Submitted to Mr. Leheuze, who takes the responsibility to transmit the draft to the owner [armateur].

VIII

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey, 15 August, 1851[64]

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have the honor to inform you that up to the present it has not been possible for me to obtain the refund of the one-hundred-and-twenty-two dollars unduly charged as a lighthouse tax, April ninth last, on the vessel "Le Courrier de Cherbourg" by the ex-collector of customs of this port, Mr. Samuel Barney.[65]

This employee, having received another post during the interim of my claims, his successor, although recognizing the illegality of this collection, does not deem himself authorized to rectify the error of his predecessor, and refers me to the United States secretary of the treasury.

Consquently by today's mail and through the agency of monsieur the minister of France at Washington I am addressing a demand for refund with accompanying papers to this functionary and as it does not seem just to me that our commerce should suffer by the errors committed by the very agents of the American Government, I esteem that a six per-cent monthly interest, commercial valuation of money in California, must be added to the principal until the definite settlement of this affair.

Under date of June twenty-fourth, last, I transmitted to monsieur the consul of the Republic in San Francisco, the sum of $1407.14 (one-thousand-four-hundred-and-seven dollars, and fourteen cents) net proceeds of the sale of provisions of the company, "La Fortune," and by his letters of the nineteenth and twenty-second of July, Mr. Dillon acknowledges receipt of this sum and announces to me that it will be transmitted with the pièces justificatives [documentary proof] to whom it may concern by the courrier of the first of this month.

During[66] an excursion which I made about fifty leagues toward the southeast, I was given possession of a very curious plant. It is the one which the Indians and Californians use as an infallible antidote against rattlesnake bite. This herb has this in particular and [which] is really providential: it grows on everything, and one is sure to find it in the vicinity where this dangerous reptile lives. Reduced by mastication into a sort of poultice and applied on the bite, it effects a certain and almost instantaneous cure.

Monsieur le Ministre, I thought it might be of some use to our naturalists to possess this plant, and not being able, due to the advanced season, to pick it in its green state, I have the honor to enclose herewith the seed which I extracted from a dried herb.[67]

I[68] shall not end this letter, Monsieur le Ministre, without expressing the grief I have felt upon learning that, because of considerations the full import of which I appreciate but whose consequences are deplorable for me, it was not possible for you to raise the figure of my wages. However, I hope, that this decision, [which was] enclosed in a despatch from your department dated April fourteenth, last, to the consul in San Francisco, will not be without appeal. The department cannot admit that I can remain any longer in the false and really miserable position in which I have found myself since my arrival in California. And in begging you to be kind enough to have the means, by which my just demand can be favorably met, examined anew, I have the honor to be, with deep respect,

Monsieur le Ministre, your very humble and very obedient servant,

The vice-consular agent of France

J. LOMBARD

A Monsieur le Ministre, Secrétaire d'État au Département des Affaires Étrangères de France à Paris.

IX

LOMBARD TO MINISTER

Agence Consulaire de France à Monterey
Monterey 30 August, 1851[69]

Monsieur le Ministre:

In my reports numbers six and seven,[70] which I had the honor to address to you in February and March last, I pointed out the bad tendencies and the immorality of the American emigration, the inefficiency of the law to suppress disorders, looting and anarchy existing in all branches of the administration, and especially the culpability of the police and functionaries of the judicial order in practically all the misdemeanors of justice, thefts, and assassinations, which are committed every day.

All in presaging the fatal consequences of such a state of things and in spite of the fact that at that time my predictions might have appeared slightly exaggerated, one must admit I remained prodigiously below the truth. In the last three months just ended, crime had taken on such frightful proportions, that in San Francisco, terrified in the pressure of such facts, seeing their fortune and their existence threatened every instant, the good citizens took recourse to extreme means.

At all cost it was necessary to save society in peril. It was necessary that prevaricating magistrates should no longer administer justice, and that energetic measures, taken in time, should refurnish to a newly-born state a little of that confidence and that stability so necessary to the development and the prosperity of its future destinies.

These measures were taken, and, I hasten to say, have produced the most salutary effect. A *Vigilance Committee*[71] in the name of safety for all, taking the supreme direction of affairs and assuming the grave responsibility of substituting itself for the legally constituted powers, has been able to stop the flood of crime at least in San Francisco, and for a time which I cannot determine precisely.

The numerous arrests carried out by this dictatorial power, the frightful revelations made by the culprits, the terrible punishments inflicted on some of them, and the salutary terror inspired by these punishments to those of their accomplices not yet in the power of the Vigilance Committee: These are certainly excellent predictions for a better future.

Unfortunately, California is not limited to San Francisco, and whilst a forced tranquility was re-born in that town, and, terrified by the relentless war which was waged against them, the bandits and thieves hastened to abandon its walls, we personally witnessed in each of the small centres of secondary points of this region deplorable scenes which, in the capital of the state, necessitate the employment of energetic measures which I mentioned, [but] with this difference, here, honest people, almost everywhere in the minority, find themselves, by force of circumstances entirely at the mercy of not only vagabonds, but also of an administration that is venal and corrupt. Not a day goes by but that we hear of some new theft or assassination.

Things have gone so far these last few days and the southern part of the state has been, and still is, comparatively so badly treated, that there is a strong and serious tendency to separate from the north and to form a separate territory.[72] Meetings to that effect have already taken place in almost every town of the south, and have obtained unanimous votes.

Thus everything seems to predict that within a year or two this measure will have been adopted. That part of the country, essentially agricultural, has such vastly different interests from those of the north, which is completely given over to commerce; the customs of the population, almost entirely Mexican; its religion, language, differ greatly from the religion, customs and language of the Americans; the territorial property centered in the hands of a small number of large landowners is so overburdened with exorbitant taxes, and to date the protection of the government in compensation of such sacrifices has been, if not negative, at least so completely inefficient, that there is really no other safe outlet for the south but to have recourse to this extreme means.

Among other results, this change in the organization of the country, would have that of making Monterey the capital of the southern state, and to pull this town out of the deep lethargy in which it has found itself plunged since the seat of government was transferred elsewhere. Moreover, it would not be at all impossible that for the purpose of conciliation between the northern states and the slave states, and as a satisfaction to be given to these latter in the face of the general discontent produced by the *Compromise Bill;*[73] in almost every point of the Union: That this new state should become a slave state and that Lower California should [not?] be joined to it.

Such are, Monsieur le Ministre, the general considerations that the present situation of this country, bring to my mind.

I am, Monsieur le Ministre, with profound respect, your very humble and very obedient servant,

The vice-consular agent of France
J. LOMBARD

Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Paris.

X

[MINISTER] TO LOMBARD

Paris, January 31, 1852[74]

Mr. Lombard, Consular Agent of France at Monterey
Number 1.

The letters which you have addressed to my department, under the stamp of direction commerciale up to number eleven, inclusive, with the exception however of numbers two, three and five, which I beg you to again send to me,[75] have been received.

I have taken cognizance with interest, of the information contained in that part of your correspondence as well as the report that you drew up following the mission which Mr. Dillon entrusted to you to the placers of the south.[76]

Although your letters describe the present state and future of California in perhaps too somber colors, the ministers of agriculture and commerce, to whom they were transmitted, nevertheless are thankful to you for having expressed your entire thoughts in this regard, but inasmuch as your conclusions were not in accord with those of the majority of explorateurs [*sic*] — the department saw fit not to give them publicity, fearing that the judgment you formed, in the presence of the state of things before your eyes in that part of California where you reside, would be considered by commerce in general as extending over the country, and would be too much in contradiction with the testimonies of other agents of the government, who have mostly especially visited northern California. Anyway the apprehensions you manifest, would have need to be confirmed by facts.

Nevertheless, I bid you, Monsieur, to continue to inform me regarding the social conditions and the chances of the future of the country where you reside, taking care, however, to join to these observations exact details, and details of a more immediate interest concerning the openings that the market of Monterey can offer to the products of our soil and our industry.

Nevertheless, I can only approve entirely the measures which you took on the occasion of the arrival at Monterey of the French vessel, "Le Courrier de Cherbourg," in safeguarding the rights of the proprietors of the cargo, and in assuring to the passengers an efficacious assistance, and in claiming with perseverance the restitution of the lighthouse duties unjustly levied upon this commercial vessel. In this latter respect, I am pleased to hope that your endeavors will not fail to be crowned with success. In any case, Monsieur, please advise me of the result.[77]

The Direction des Fonds must have replied to the observations contained in your letters of June 27, and October 7, 1850, and February 10, 1851,[78] relative to the circumstances which added to the cost of your voyage from Panama to Monterey, and also pertaining to the insufficiency of the salary which is allotted to you.

Receive . . . .

XI

[MINISTER] TO LOMBARD

(Paris) March 23, 1852[79]

Mr. Lombard Vice-Consular Agent of the Republic at Monterey.
Now at number 18, Rue de Helder, Paris.
Number 2.[80]

I have the honor to announce to you, sir, that upon my proposition, and by decree of the eleventh of this month, the prince president of the republic has been pleased to appoint you consul of the second class at Panama, to replace Mr. Cazotte, called to other functions.

You will realize, Monsieur, all the benefit that this decision holds for you which admits you by very exceptional favor into the consular ranks, and I am convinced you will justify it by your entire devotion to the government of the prince president, as well as by the usefulness of your services.

I invite you to leave for your new destination[81] as soon as you will have made the transfer of service of the agency at Monterey in the form prescribed by the rules to Mr. Moerenhout, regarding whom another presidential decree likewise bearing the date eleventh of March, has designated him to succeed you with the title of honorary consul of the second class.[82]

Your[83] correspondance commerciale has reached me up to number forty-three inclusive, and I thank you for the information it has conveyed to me.

Receive . . . .

NOTES

43. *Cf.* Bancroft, *ibid.*, VI, 604-11.

44. French emigration is discussed in the works cited in note 1 above.

45. Moerenhout's correspondence, as cited in note 1 above; *see also* Nasatir, *French Activities* . . ., *op. cit.*, *passim.*

46. Ministerial notations:
To Commerce, June 24, 1851.
Answered January 31, 1852. [*See* Document X of present series.]

47. Document IV of present series.

48. Document III of present series.

49. Concerning the Santa Clara mine, *see* letters of Moerenhout cited in note 1 above; also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 656-57.

50. *Cf.* Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 7-16, and 54-63. *See also* Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 691-96; and especially Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 396-402, and 529-48.

51. A good account of the relations between the Indians in California and the federal government may be found in Joseph Ellison, *op. cit.*, chap. V. *See also* Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 474-86.

52. For data on quartz mining, *see* Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 417-18; and VII, 637 ff.

53. *See* references in note 1 above.

54. Moerenhout to Minister, Monterey, Sept. 1, 1849, this QUARTERLY, XIII (Dec. 1934), 370-75; and Nasatir, *Inside Story of the Gold Rush*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-69.

55. *See* Mary F. Williams, *History of the Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, 1921), pp. 184, 454-55; Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals* (San Francisco, 1887), I, 449-52; and Hittell, *op. cit.*, III, 712-26.

56. Ministerial notations:
Answered January 31, 1852 [Document X in present series]. Approve his conduct.

57. *See* note 2 above, with included references.

58. Fred Thibault, Sr., was a commission merchant in San Francisco, at 245 Montgomery St., in the spring of 1850. Barry and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

59. Kimball's *San Francisco Directory* for 1850 places "B. Davidson, ag't Rothschild's, banker," on Commercial between Montgomery and Kearny. *See also* Levy, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

60. The "La Fortune" company required a 10,000 franc bond from each emigrant, in case the emigrant deserted without fulfilling his obligations to the company.

61. *See* succeeding documents in present series.

62. Ministerial notation:
Answered January 31, 1852 [Document X in present series].

63. Ministerial notation:
Answered January 31, 1852.

64. Ministerial notations:
An extract sent to the Direction des Fonds, October 17, 1851.
To Instruction Publique, November 4, 1851.
Answered March 23, 1852 [Document XI in present series].
To Commerce [?].

65. Marginal notation:

Refer to the other dues [*sic;* documents?].

66. Marginal notation:

To Instruction Publique.

67. End of extract to Instruction Publique.

68. Marginal notation:

Extract for Direction des Fonds.

69. Ministerial notation:

Answered January 31, 1852 [Document X in present series].

70. Reports numbers six and seven are documents IV and V, in present series.

71. The fullest and best account of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851 is given by Mary Floyd Williams, as in note 55 above. The same author has edited and published the committee's papers (Berkeley, c1919). Educated French and other foreign immigrants generally approved of and supported the committee. For some French opinions, *see* Saint-Amant, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 408-411; Auger, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-219; Ernest Frignet, *La Californie* . . . (Paris, 1866), pp. 177-79, 196-202; etc.

72. In this connection, *see* Rockwell D. Hunt, "History of the California State Division Controversy," *Publs.*, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., XIII (1924), 37-53.

73. Compromise of 1850.

74. Ministerial notation:

A copy of the last paragraph of this letter sent to Direction des Fonds, February 8, 1852.

75. Most of these letters are found here.

76. Lombard's report of his visit to the mines is contained in his letter to Consul Dillon, dated from San Francisco, October 7, 1850 [Document II].

77. On "Le Courrier de Cherbourg," *see* documents VI, VII, and VIII, in present series.

78. Documents I, II, and IV, in present series.

79. Ministerial notation:

Make a duplicate.

80. Just when Lombard left Monterey is uncertain. Moerenhout returned to Monterey in 1852.

81. A letter written by Lombard from his consulateship in Panama and dated November 20, 1852, is in the E. M. Clinton Collection. *See* this QUARTERLY, June 1948, p. 144.

82. On Moerenhout, *see* Nasatir, as cited in note 1 above.

83. Written in another hand.

ADDENDUM

Since translating and editing Lombard's consular correspondence, the present writer had another opportunity of working in the archives of the French foreign office, where he uncovered additional consular material and was permitted to take notes on personal dossiers, yielding some details of Lombard's life.

Jules Barthélemy Lombard was born August 7, 1809. He evidently prepared for the military, as he served as an ordnance officer for Prince Louis Napoleon. Lombard was a very capable, intelligent, and courageous person, and could handle with a degree of fluency several languages. He became compromised in the "Affaires de Strasbourg et de Boulogne" (Louis Napoleon's attempt to cause a revolt in October 1836 against Louis Philippe); was tried and acquitted by a jury. It appears that he then decided on a consular career. When he applied for a post in Lima or Singapore, he was thirty-eight or thirty-nine, and had already had six months experience as a diplomatic agent in Germany and Hungary. At first he was turned down, but, shortly thereafter, by using some influence, he succeeded in obtaining a post. His first assignment was as consular agent at

Monterey, to which he was appointed in 1850. After serving a term at Monterey, he returned to France and was immediately appointed consul of the second class at Panama, where he served until early 1854, returning to France on leave, for reasons of health. After a fairly lengthy stay in France, during which time he was made a chevalier of the Imperial Legion of Honor, Lombard was sent to Porto Rico. He also served as consul of the second class at La Corogna, and at Seville. While at Seville he was raised to consul of the first class. He was then sent to Calcutta, where he was promoted to consul-general. In 1867 he was retired on pension.

The Birthdays of Urban Communities

By J. N. Bowman

Editor's Note. – *In Volume XXVII of this* Quarterly *(March, and June, 1948, pp. 51-62, 104), J. N. Bowman set forth certain principles, based upon which the birthdays of urban communities might be reliably determined. At that time he illustrated his suggested method by reference to San Francisco, Benicia, and Branciforte. The present paper offers further examples.*

OAKLAND
May 16, 1850

OAKLAND was founded.* It traces its history back continuously to its incorporation as a city on March 25, 1854, and as a town on May 4, 1852.[1] When incorporated in 1852, the community already had 75 to 100 inhabitants, two or three hotels, about a dozen shanties, a small wharf and two warehouses, as recalled by the pioneers.[2] Consequently the beginning of the urban community must be found, if possible, at an earlier date.

Edson Adams, a Forty-niner, after a short sojourn in the mines, came back to San Francisco and turned from mining to other interests. He investigated the country around the bay and concluded that the area across the bay in present Oakland was a favorable spot for a town. When this conclusion was reached is unknown, but on May 16, 1850, he put his plan into effect by staking out a squatter's claim of 160 acres on the estuary shore, with present Broadway in Oakland as the center. Later he was associated with H. W. Carpentier and Andrew J. Moon who, each, staked out adjoining claims of the same acreage. Within a short time, Adams erected an office at the foot of "Broadway" or Main Street; and by the end of that year, and in the spring of 1851, several settlers arrived, among them Edward Gibbons, J. H. Hobart, and Peter Portois, together with Carpentier and Moon; and the construction of a small wharf was begun.[3]

By the end of 1851, arrangements had been made for a survey and a plat of the new town; about February 1852, Peter Portois, an architect and surveyor, began the survey, and after "a couple of months" completed, in April, a plat of the central portion of present Oakland, a plat known in the early days as the "squatters' map" and as "Portois map of Contra Costa." Julius Kellersberger assisted in the making of the map.[4] This plat is referred to in the 1852 act of incorporation and also in an Oakland trustees' resolution of

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*Sec. IV, pp. 53-54, in the above reference, says: "An urban community is *founded* when one or more persons carry out a formulated plan to organize a town." The steps taken to effect this are then enumerated.

May 12, 1852, as having been filed with the secretary of state; and Portois revealed that Carpentier "told me he filed it with the Secretary of State."[5] In the secretary of state's records and archives there is no Portois map, no knowledge of such a map, nor any record of its being filed or offered for filing. At present, no copy of this map has been found; references to it as an exhibit occur in court cases, but the exhibits are absent.[6]

The Portois map was never filed in the town, city, or county offices, although a tradition arose to that effect. Portois testified that he gave the original map, made in 1852, to Carpentier but that he kept a copy of it in his office. This copy was partly destroyed during his illness, he said, and from the pieces he made a blueprint in 1893 and by mistake labeled it May instead of April.[7] The earliest reference to the Portois map is a citation to it in a deed of April 20, 1852.[8]

By October 1852, a new map of Oakland came into existence — the Kellersberger map. Julius Kellersberger had assisted Portois in the drafting of the Portois map of Contra Costa, but how it happened that he and his map superseded the earlier surveyor and map is unknown. From April, onward, through the remainder of the year 1852, the deeds refer to block and lot numbers on this map; therefore Carpentier's copy (the original), and not Portois' office copy, must have been used for this purpose, and so could not have been filed with the secretary of state. Before October, the Kellersberger draft of the earlier map could have been made to replace that of Portois to be filed in Sacramento, or to replace the injured, lost, or dilapidated original, or for other office use. The earliest reference to the Kellersberger map of Contra Costa is in a deed dated October 16, 1852.[9] But from October 1852, to June 1853, many deeds refer to the "Portois or Kellersberger Map of Contra Costa."[10]

In the absence of a copy of the Portois map, it is impossible to see the differences or similarities. Portois testified that "all that Mr. Kellersberger has done has been according to that map, and that is easy to be proved."[11]

The Kellersberger map also was never declared an official map, but deeds, and town and city ordinances, make regular reference to it. It was filed with the recorder on September 2, 1853, to accompany a deed of August 15, 1853.[12]

In 1851, the name of Oakland was Encinal, a name originating in provincial days for a part of the Peralta grant of Rancho San Antonio; and the following year it was also called Encinal del Temescal; a year later it was called Encinal San Antonio "including Oakland." The name Bolsa del Encinal de San Antonio is also found during this year. In 1852, the name, Contra Costa, became quite general in use, as seen in the deeds of that year and in the references to the Portois map of Contra Costa, to the Kellersberger map of Contra Costa, and the references to the map of this name by both surveyors. The name "Contra Costa or Oakland" is found in use as early as July 1852. The name, Oakland, became the generally accepted name in 1853.[13]

Conclusion. – On May 16, 1850, the plan for a town had been carried out by staking out a squatter's claim, and late in 1851 arrangements had been made for a survey and a town plat. During this year (1851) settlers had arrived, a small wharf had been built, a name had been inherited from the provincial days, trees and underbrush in Main (Broadway) Street removed, and a traveled road or trail in the sand had been made in this principal street. By early 1852, a community spirit had arisen to the point of promoting the introduction of a bill in the legislature for the incorporation of a town; by April 20, town lots were sold by the Portois plat, and on May 4 the town had been incorporated. In less than three years, in fact in less than two years, from the taking out of the squatter's claim, the existence of a town had been recognized by the legislature. From these facts it may be taken that the birthday of Oakland, as an urban community, is May 16, 1850.

NOTES

1. *Statutes*, 1854, p. 46; 1852, p. 180. The bill for incorporation as a town was introduced on April 29 by N. B. Smith, assemblyman from Martinez. There is a tradition that the bill was introduced by H. W. Carpentier, but he was not in the legislature until 1853. He was, however, a senate enrolling clerk doing extra work in August 1851, a senate clerk on the industrial commission, then on the finance committee, later (the first part of 1852) on the committee of navigation and commerce; and he was state prison inspector from May 1852 to April 1853. In one or more of these capacities, therefore, Carpentier was in Sacramento when Smith introduced his incorporation bill and no doubt aided in the drafting of the act, especially as to the reference to Portois' map and its filing with the secretary of state. Controller's Register of Warrants.

2. City of Oakland *vs.* Oakland Water Front Co., California Supreme Court, Case 26392, pp. 306, 1419, 1420, 1512, 1564, 3189; U. S. Circuit Court, Case 11820 (San Francisco), pp. 143, 158.

3. E. J. Adams, *Oakland's Early History* (Oakland, 1932), p. 7; Case 26392, *op. cit.*, pp. 1300, 1419, 1420, 3189; Case 11820, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 158; U. S. District Court, Land Grant Case 403 ND (San Francisco), p. 96; U. S. Circuit Court, C. P. Huntington *vs.* City of Oakland (printed transcript), pp. 6, 12.

4. Case 26392, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12; Alameda County Recorder, Maps, VII, 3; Deeds, A, p. 273. In Case 26392, Portois, in his testimony, speaks of April 1851 and of April 1852. He stated that he had a ranch in present Oakland in 1851 and "went there nearly every day," and that there was a small wharf at the foot of Main. In the same case, A. J. Moon testified that Carpentier began building this wharf in May 1851. All these facts indicate that Portois made his map in 1852, not in 1851. *See also* Oakland Water Front Co., *op. cit.*, p. 12.

5. *Statutes*, 1852, p. 180; Case 11820, *op. cit.*, complaint exhibit 1; Case 26392, *op. cit.*, p. 1293.

6. Case 26392, *op. cit.*, pp. 1294, 1295, 1300, 1302; State of California *vs.* Southern Pacific Co., as referred to in Case 26392 above. It is not in the Supreme Court in Washington, D. C.

[7] Oakland *vs.* Oakland Water Front Co., *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 1293-1302; Case 11820, *op. cit.:* in this case, W. F. Boardman testified that he, Boardman, made the first official map of Oakland.

[8] Contra Costa County Recorder, Deeds, II, 98.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 224.

[10] *Ibid.*, III, 55; Alameda County Recorder, Deeds A, 91, 273; a deed of Aug. 15, 1853, refers to the squatter map of Kellersberger.

[11] Case 26392, *op. cit.*, p. 1299. In Case 11820, *op. cit.*, the two maps are declared "substantially" the same for the Carpentier wharf.

[12] Alameda County Recorder, Maps, VII, 3, 1, 21; Deeds, A, 273.

[13] Adams *vs.* Halliday, Contra Costa County Clerk, Box 1; Case 23692, *op. cit.*, p. 306; Land grant cases 100 ND, 403 ND; Alameda County Recorder, Deeds, A, 112, 148, 284, 287; Contra Costa County Recorder, Deeds, II, 224.

BERKELEY

Late fall, 1853

On April 1, 1878, present Berkeley was incorporated as a town by the merging, on equal terms, of two separate, adjoining, and independent communities, Berkeley and Ocean View.[1] Berkeley had been founded, and Ocean View had been settled (this QUARTERLY, March 1948, pp. 53-54, sec. IV and V). Since they united on an equal basis in establishing the corporation, the determination of the birthday depends on the finding of the earlier date as between the two communities (sec. VIII, p. 55, in the above).

The East End of the Dual Community

Berkeley was situated to the east of Ocean View at the foot of the hills, and traces its continuous history, as an urban community, back to 1873 when the first classes of the new University of California were held on the Berkeley campus. In 1868, the university had succeeded the College of California, an Oakland institution, which, ten years earlier, had selected the foot-of-the-hills area for its intended site. On August 14, 1864, was founded the College Homestead Association, as a real-estate venture to finance the college.[2] The plat of the survey was recorded on May 15, 1866,[3] and, nine days later (May 24, 1866), the name "Berkeley" was selected as the name for the prospective community. The sale of lots began on the last day of May; this was followed by many subsequent sales, but no houses were erected until later.[4]

However, on the unsurveyed college land, adjoining the Homestead tract on the east, Dr. S. H. Willey bought 4.5 acres on November 1, 1865, and that winter he erected his home, which stood until 1929 at the corner of present Dwight Way and College Avenue.[5] On June 29, 1866, Frederick Law Olmstead made his report on the layout of the university grounds and stated that "the vicinity is nevertheless as yet not merely in a rural but a completely rustic and almost uninhabited condition, two small families of farmers only having established homes within half a mile of it."[6]

During the years from 1858 to 1866, the College of California had selected a site, laid out a town, sold lots, selected a name, but, aside from the home erected by Dr. Willey nearby, no settlers had arrived; nor did the period from 1866 to 1872 show any additional inhabitants, even while the first university buildings, North Hall and South Hall, were under construction. The erection of these buildings and the contemplated arrival of students and faculty on the opening of college in 1873, did, however, induce the Edgar brothers to build the University Hotel late in 1872 and to lease it to Thomas Berry. On January 17, 1873, it was reported open to the public as "the pioneer hotel of Berkeley."[7] But no evidence has been found of new residents in the new town nor in the new hotel up to this time; the latter may have been open to workmen and craftsmen, during the last year of the construction of the university halls. An urban community, Berkeley, was awaiting some incentive for settlement.

This incentive came upon the opening of college on September 25, 1873, with the arrival of students and faculty from their homes or boarding-places in Oakland and San Francisco; and on that day the University Hotel was reported full to capacity.[8] In this same month, the university regents were reported to be conscious of the need of housing for the students and faculty.[9] By the end of this semester of the university, several boarding-homes were opened and were said to have been "as thick as flies." The University Hotel accommodated about forty students, and the "Bach. Club," composed of Healdsburg students, moved their club from Oakland to Berkeley. By October of this year, the Berkeley Villa Association spoke of the "new town of Berkeley."[10] During 1874, the population, permanent and transient, had increased sufficiently to make possible the establishment of a new hotel, "The Berkeley"; also the starting of several new restaurants (three of them "French"), a billiard room, a regular call by meat and vegetable wagons, both from Oakland, and the opening of a meat market in Berkeley itself, also a Chinese laundry. By October, the San Francisco-Berkeley ferry was getting into operation, and by February 1875, an Oakland French bakery wagon began its calls to the new community. In January of this year (1874), the residents were reported as taking steps to increase their number and initiating "a project for incorporation which will probably be carried out."[11]

To summarize.—The east end of Berkeley from 1858 to 1873 had a site, a town plat, a name, and two buildings—North Hall and South Hall on the campus of the university; but it had no residents. At the very end of 1872, the Edgar brothers built the University Hotel, in anticipation of the influx of students and faculty upon the opening of college the following autumn. This forecast was justified by the arrival of population, the erection of new houses, the opening of community business activities within a year, and by the origin of a community spirit as evidenced in the notice of "the new town of Berkeley." The beginning was very small and the permanent residents were dependent on the college personnel during the first and even the second academic years. Most of the students lived in Oakland and San Francisco. Of the faculty, ten lived in Oakland, one in San Francisco, nine in unknown places, and only one was listed as a resident of Berkeley in 1873-74.[12] The birthday may be placed in the late fall of 1872.

The West End of the Dual Community

West Berkeley, or Ocean View, can trace its history continuously back to the first Berkeley post office opened September 23, 1872, in Bowen's store at the northwest corner of San Pablo Avenue and present Delaware Street, where it continued until 1875; it was then closed, but it was re-opened, on September twenty-seventh of that year, in Higgins' store across Delaware Street opposite its former location. Two years later, on January 3, 1877, its name was changed from Berkeley to North Temescal, and, two years later still, the Berkeley post office was opened at 1226 Telegraph Avenue, near the university.[13]

More than a decade before the opening of the first Berkeley post office, the data found in the deeds, assessment rolls, supervisors' records, county surveyors' books, newspapers, and statements of pioneers, indicate the existence of an urban community of rural character* in the area centered around Bowen's store by 1856-57. Leading up to the rise of this community, the Contra Costa County supervisors (who controlled this area until Alameda County was created in 1853), having received a petition for a public road, did, on January 15, 1852, authorize a committee to "view out" a road from Oakland to San Pablo via the house of Victor Castro.[14] A trail or road or camino real (*real* in its proper sense of actual – not royal) had existed between these points from provincial days, and the county authorities decided to make it into a public thoroughfare. On November 13, 1852, the road, 100 feet wide, was ordered surveyed from Main (Broadway) Street in Oakland in a straight line to a point eight rods west of Victor Castro's house, and thence on to San Pablo with its small community centered around the house of ex-governor Juan B. Alvarado. Later it was extended northward to San Pablo Creek and beyond.[15] The survey was made by Julius Kellersberger between January and the end of October 1853, and before the end of the year the course of the road was changed, at the request of Castro, to run directly in front of his house.[16] On December 24, 1853, the Oakland town council declared the road "from Broadway to Cerrito" to be a "municipal highway to be known as the Contra Costa Avenue."[17] On this road, after the survey had been completed, but before the assessments were made early in

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*That is, the group of independent individuals or families live relatively close, or within an area equal to about one square mile, with several houses nearby but beyond this limit.

1854, Capt. William J. Bowen built and opened his grocery store, very probably in the late fall of that same year.[18] Later he added a hotel and a bar to the store, probably in 1854, judging by his increased tax assessment in 1855.[19] Sometime early in this decade, stages had begun to run over the trail and road from Oakland to San Pablo and beyond, and this was probably the reason, or one of the reasons, for Bowen's erection and opening of his store, hotel, and saloon. On April 11, 1857, the American Express Co. announced a mail and express service over its various routes, one of which was "Oakland, Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," very possibly using this road[20] – at least, the Oakland-San Pablo stage was in full operation in 1859, when a change of schedule was placed in effect on June fourteenth of that year.[21]

In 1853, J. H. Jacobs or Jacobsen, had started the building of his wharf at the foot of present Delaware Street and later added a warehouse.[22] For the same year, 1853-54, J. J. Fleming was assessed $1,000 for improvements in this area. At an unknown date, John Everding & Co. built a factory north of Jacobs' wharf, and by 1855 the company was assessed $1,000 for improvements on its land.[24] In addition to these settlers, the assessment rolls indicate the presence of others in this area in 1855: Henry Halgerson, a Mr. Vincent, and Pedro Unda.[25] By 1856-57, the list of settlers along the San Pablo road, between the Three-mile House (near present Alcatraz) and Fleming's Point, had increased in number: J. W. Cronkhite, Pat O'Farrell, E. Ingram, Juan Insua, Henry Muir, S. Persey, a Mr. Piercey, A. Romelberg, H. M. Randall, M. Roundtree, a Mr. Sisterna; nine others were settled somewhere along this road. Some of these were in the area centered around the Bowen store. In addition to these, six others were probably located here.[26] Already in 1855 a community spirit had arisen to the point of holding a Presbyterian Sunday school in the home of one of the neighbors, as recalled by a pioneer, and the following year church services were occasionally held.[27]

With the increase in the population of taxpayers and their families, came, in 1856, the first school, opened on a tract of land donated by José Domingo Peralta.[28] The tract is now part of the northwest corner of the grounds of Franklin School, on the south bank of Schoolhouse Creek. On August 9, 1859, the county supervisors appointed the "School House (Ocean View)" as the voting place of Precinct 3, in the same manner that Bowen's "Ocean View House" had been ordered as a voting place on July 2 and 10, 1855.[29]

Thus, during the years 1856 and 1857, an urban community of rural character, as defined above, had come into existence, with a name, a grocery, hotel, saloon, school, Sunday school, church services, and with some twenty-five settlers resident within a relatively small area. In addition, Charles Carleton recalled that at this time the stages left the community mail at the hotel and store, for the convenience of the neighbors; also, that horse races were run on the San Pablo Road from near present Dwight Way to the grocery;

and that Friday afternoons were special occasions, on which the pupils gave recitations of selected pieces at the school house, in the presence of their parents.[30] In time this community became an urban community in the conventional sense; that is, where the residents form a cohesive group of independent individuals or families.

Since the approximate date of the erection of Bowen's store, in the late autumn of 1853, falls within three years of the existence of the community of 1856, this year may be taken as the birthyear of Ocean View or West Berkeley.

Conclusion. — In 1878, Berkeley and Ocean View united, on an equal basis, in the incorporation of a new town, with the name of one of them. The birthday of the new town is that of the older of the uniting communities — or the late fall of 1853 — irrespective of the name selected.

NOTES

1. *California Statutes*, 1877-78, 888.

2. S. H. Willey, *History of the College of California* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 37, 106, 152.

3. Alameda County Deeds, T, 799.

4. *Ibid.*, V, 4; VI, 7.

5. *Ibid.*, T, 125. Assessment rolls, March 1866, 1867. Dr. Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 131, stated that he moved from Oakland to Berkeley in December 1865. This must be questioned since it is not possible for him to have erected his house within a few weeks, nor to have built it before receiving his deed; especially since the deed specifically states that the authorization to sell land by the Board had been given on October 9, 1865.

6. Willey, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

7. Oakland *Daily Transcript*, Jan. 17, 1873.

8. *Ibid.*, Sept. 25, and 27, 1873; *Neolaean*, Nov. 1873.

9. Oakland *Daily Transcript*, Sept. 4, 1873.

10. *Neolaean*, Oct. 1873; *Berkeleyean*, Feb., March, and July 1874; Oakland *Daily Transcript*, Sept. 3, Oct. 16, Nov. 2 and 6, 1873.

11. Oakland *Daily Transcript*, Sept. 3, 1874; *Berkeleyean*, April, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., 1874; *Alameda County Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1874; and Feb. 1875.

12. Oakland *Directory*, 1874.

13. Data from the postmaster general, Washington, D. C.

14. Contra Costa County Supervisors, Records, I, 9, 11.

15. *Ibid.*, I, 2, 9, 32, 44, 61, 62, 84, 92, 96, 118, 188, 193.

16. *Ibid.*, I, 188. This change in the course of the road was ordered within six weeks of the payment to Kellersberger for his survey.

17. Oakland Council, Minutes, I, 77. On Dec. 27, 1852, the supervisors ordered the employment of a surveyor, at a salary the same as the county surveyor, and on Nov. 7, 1853, Kellersberger presented the bill for his services in making the survey and it was ordered paid. Supervisors' records, *op. cit.*, I, 92, 188.

18. No Bowen deed is found recorded in either Contra Costa or Alameda counties, due, no doubt, to the uncertainty of ownership of the Peralta lands in the early 1850's until the patent was finally issued. Bowen's name first appears on the Alameda County

assessment rolls of 1854 for land and improvements – the assessment was made in May of this year. The date of the erection of the house is unknown, but presumably was in the late fall of 1853, after the survey of the road; it could have been after Hays *et al* bought the land in this area on Aug. 16, 1853, from José Domingo Peralta. Alameda County, Civil Case 922.

19. Alameda County, Assessment Rolls, 1855.

20. *Daily California Chronicle*, April 11, 1857.

21. San Francisco *Bulletin*, June 13, 1859. A new stage line from Oakland to Martinez, via San Pablo, was also announced on the same day in the same paper.

22. Jacob's testimony in U. S. District Court, Case 3072, Berkeley Land and Town Improvement Co. *vs.* Jacobs; statement of F. J. Rooney to the writer; and letter from Edmund Jacobs, also to the writer. Jacobs' name is not found on the assessment rolls until 1856-57.

23. Alameda County, Assessment Rolls, 1853-54. No deed is found recorded.

24. *Ibid.*, 1856-57. No deed is found recorded.

25. *Ibid.*, 1855.

26. *Ibid.*, 1856-57. Those on the San Pablo road, probably north of the Three-Mile House, were C. Aschanblan, A. B. Atwell, S. Conley and wife, L. J. Crawley, J. A. Hobart, C. Millington, W. Tiareng, and S. Walker. The six probably in this area were J. H. Blair, José Dia, Mrs. B. M. Evoy, Henry Halgerson, E. Halphen, F. Loing. These names are found on the assessment rolls, in deeds, in Survey Book A, and are recalled by pioneers.

27. H. R. Houston, "The Early History of Berkeley" (MS, Bancroft Library, 1926), p. 52.

28. No deed was given or recorded at that time. By the time of Bowen's death in 1887, a tradition had arisen that J. F. Rooney had given the land and Bowen had provided the lumber for the school of 1856. No record has been found of Rooney in this area before 1864. In 1856 the land still belonged to Peralta. If the tradition is correct in part, it refers to a later school building and not that of 1856.

The late Charles Carleton stated that he attended the school in 1857-58, the second year of its existence. Henry Kasten also reported the school in existence in these years. Houston, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Carleton recalled the names of many of the pupils of that year and the name of the teacher; this list of names was turned over to the late asst. superintendent of the Berkeley schools, M. C. James. The deed to Carleton's father is dated Oct. 10, 1858. Deeds, H, 270. A map attached to a boundary deed (I, 633), dated Feb. 25, 1859, shows the houses of Carleton, Toms, and Neal, all built before the date of the deed.

29. Alameda County Supervisors, Records, I, 297.

30. *Ibid.*, I, 110, 118. A report of the school superintendent was made to, and filed by, the supervisors on April 6, 1857, but is now lost.

Silk in Piedmont

By Evelyn Craig Pattiani

VISITORS driving up Mountain Avenue in Piedmont, Alameda County, California, in the 1880's, would have had pointed out to them a square, two-story structure, over the doorway of which hung a large sign, "U. S. Silk Culture Experimental Station." Behind this matter-of-fact building lay a history, which began some 4000 years ago (2640 B. C.) in the encouragement, given by a high-born Chinese lady, to those willing to undertake the cultivation of mulberry trees, the feeding of their leaves to a unique worm, and the reeling of the silken strand out of which the creature made its cocoon. Secret processes had been discovered by the lady's people. Henceforth the subject of silk became of prime importance to merchants and to governmental agencies; it was also taken up by men of learning, such as Benjamin Franklin in this country, and by women of refinement, who saw in it an elevating type of study for themselves and a source of employment for those in search of it. In the minds of many of the enthusiasts, the profits, to be derived from the manufacture and sale of silk goods, seemed to have occupied second place.

For example, in the *Second Annual Report* of the Women's Silk Culture Association of the United States, published in Philadelphia in 1882, the writer said: "... We urge upon the women of our land the planting of this industry ... and that they are not unprepared for it is shown by the successful establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Silk Culture Association of California. ..." An excerpt from the remarks of Mrs. Theodore H. Hittell, in her organization's *First Annual Report*, was then quoted: "... The welfare of our youthful population — our boys and girls — demands our attention. ... Will not men of wealth aid us to firmly establish such a rich industry as that of silk culture and manufacture ...?" Where the writer of the article got the idea that Mrs. Hittell's group was called the "Women's Auxiliary Silk Culture Association of California," is puzzling, as the title-page of the document she (one supposes it was a *she*) was quoting from, states that it was the *First Annual Report, California Silk Culture Association* (San Francisco, 1882).

The way the words "Women's" and "Ladies' " were attached, during the 1880's, to organizations interested in silk, may confuse the historian, but it is symptomatic of the sex's known preoccupation with the subject at that time. Mrs. Hittell had stimulated interest in establishing the California Silk Culture

Association by inviting some of her "lady friends" to meet on November 18, 1880, at her residence in San Francisco. Sixteen of them came and the association was formed. She describes its "Origin" in an article in the organization's *Second Annual Report* (San Francisco, 1883), during the course of which she does not attempt to gloss over unfavorable details by glorifying the favorable. She was a member, she says, of the [California State] Horticultural Society, and conceived the idea of uniting silk culture with horticulture, her paper on the subject being read "before a large assemblage of gentlemen, only four ladies being present," by the Horticultural Society's secretary, E. J. Wickson, editor of the *Pacific Rural Press*. A discussion followed; "but it was argued and seemed to be the general opinion that it was not possible to unite Silk Culture with Horticulture." In spite of the "large assemblage of gentlemen," who were concerned, it would seem, with the welfare of the mulberry itself, but not when it played host to silk-bearing worms, the women got pleasant publicity from the *Alta California*, which headed an article on silk in its issue of June 8, 1881, "Interesting Report and Communications to the Ladies' Association." Mrs. Hittell's own book, published in 1881, showed that she had had enough experience with the actual raising of silkworms to be an authority with vision, and not merely a visionary. This was affirmed by Warren B. Ewer in the "Prefatory Note" to his *California Silk Grower's Manual*, published in San Francisco in 1882, under the direction of the California Silk Culture Association of California:

> The author acknowledges his indebtedness in the preparation of these pages both to Mrs. T. H. Hittell personally, and to the "Silk Growers Instructor," prepared by her, and published in 1881. He has ventured upon the work himself only because Mrs. Hittell, in her present feeble state of health, has not been able to revise her own work. . . .

But the California Silk Culture Association encountered difficulties in carrying out its promotional plans — this, in spite of the favors extended by the California climate to the mulberry, and to the silkworm itself. Encouraging legislation on the part of the state, however, had been wayward: a premium of $250 was provided in 1867-68 (Chap. DXXIV of the *Statutes*) "for growing and cultivating 5000 or more mulberry trees of the age of two years, planted in suitable form and at proper distances for permanent silk culture": and the second section of the same act appropriated $300 for the production of each 100,000 silk cocoons, "in good merchantable condition." But, as had happened to an act approved in April 1866, the next legislature frowned on such generous impulses and had canceled the appropriations — until 1883, as it so turned out, when action in the interest of silk was again taken, as will be shown below.

On January 2, 1885, the Ladies Silk Culture Society of California took over the work of the California Silk Culture Association. The Ladies' prior existence is attested in the *Statutes* passed at the twenty-fifth session, where, in Chapter LXXXI, is recorded an act, approved March 15, 1883, creating a State Board of Silk Culture, consisting of nine persons appointed by the governor, "five at least of whom shall be members of the Ladies Silk Culture Society of California." In section two of the act, it is provided that the members so appointed must be "specially qualified by practical experience and study of the silk industry." Five thousand dollars was appropriated for the year commencing April 1, 1883, and $2500 for the succeeding year. The next legislature, at its extra session convened March 24, 1884, reduced the membership of the State Board of Silk Culture to seven, but, even so, three of the seven were to be members of the aforesaid Ladies . . .: $5000 was appropriated for the year commencing July 1, 1885, and another $5000 for the fiscal year 1886-1887.

When incorporated in 1885, the Ladies Silk Culture Society of California chose Mrs. Hittell as president; Mrs. Leonidas E. Pratt, recording secretary; Mrs. Samuel D. Mayer, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Lewis Hentrich, treasurer; and the society's list of members, both honorary and regular, appended to their *Constitution and By-laws* (San Francisco, 1885), included persons prominent in many fields: H. H. Behr, professor of botany in the state university's College of Pharmacy; Charles Crocker, president of the Southern Pacific R.R. Co.; George Davidson, professor of geodesy and astronomy at the university; James de Fremery, consul of the Netherlands in San Francisco; Warren B. Ewer, member of the San Francisco firm of Dewey & Co., publishers of the *Pacific Rural Press*, *Mining & Scientific Press*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, etc.; William P. Gibbons, M.D.; Lawrence Göttig, president of the German Savings & Loan Society; Harvey W. Harkness, M.D., of the Academy of Sciences; Eugene W. Hilgard, professor of agriculture and agricultural chemistry at the university; D. O. Mills, capitalist; Ex-Gov. George C. Perkins; J. J. Rivers, curator of the state university's museum; Irving M. Scott,* general manager of the Union Iron Works; Leland Stanford, U. S. senator from California. The membership also included representatives from the eastern states, namely, Isaac H. Clothier and Justus C. Strawbridge, silk merchants of Philadelphia.

A month after its incorporation, the Ladies Silk Culture Society issued a "Plea for Silk Culture," which was printed in the *San Franciscan* of February 7, 1885:

> In an Oakland school, last year, a janitor, during leisure hours, and without interfering with any of his regular duties, raised ninety pounds of cocoons, and afforded an excellent opportunity to three hundred young ladies to observe and study the habits of silkworms and the manner of raising them, as object lessons.

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*The California Silk Culture Association said, in its *First Annual Report*, that it was under obligations to Mr. Scott "for improvement and fitting up of the silk-reeling machine used at the Mechanics Fair, and for the delivering of his highly interesting lecture for the benefit of your society."

Louis Prévost had volunteered to do this in 1867, at the time of writing his *California Silk Grower's Manual*, which was published by H. H. Bancroft & Co. in San Francisco. On the book's title-page, Prévost was said to have had "12 years' experience in raising the mulberry, and six years in raising the silkworm." He spoke in the Introduction of "friends of the silk cause," and, later, on page 53, he promised to do "two public feedings or treatment of worms from eggs to eggs, or the whole process," in halls in San Jose and in Sacramento. "In that way," he said, "our people who need information, will get it." They will see that it is "a work that can be done by ladies and young folks, and also aged persons not fit for harder labor. . . ."

Just what was this object of creation, whose cycle of life was remarkable enough to be exhibited in halls in large towns? Its name is *Bombyx mori*, an "inconspicuous" moth with short weak wings, which has within itself the power to produce upwards of 500 eggs. From each egg comes a tiny, black, worm-like creature or larva – literally, a ghost – which is wingless and bears no resemblance to its parents, but is capable of assuming, in the fulness of time, its true form. Meanwhile, wholly dependent on human hands for sustenance, the larva eats the leaves of the mulberry; and, its size increasing with satisfaction of appetite, it sheds its skin four separate times. Whitish-yellow by this time, and practiced in the technique of change, it has arrived, from 25 to 36 days after hatching, at full maturity and begins to prepare for the deeper change to come. But first it must hide the mysteries of the coming change in an enclosure of its own making. For this work, the soft-bodied builder, now 3-4 inches long, is supplied with internal glands, four times its body's length and so charged with fluid silk that two threads, coalescing as they reach the single orifice in the lower lip, are made to emerge as a continuous strand, 800 to 1200 yards in length. Hour after hour, hour after hour, for four days and nights, the diminutive creature manipulates this out-going strand, moving its head in circular fashion until the work of spinning its cocoon is done. Walled in, thus, from human ministrations, it takes up alone, except for the might of the Creator, the final work of its career – changing itself so as to accommodate the organs of a new "imago" or image of its own parents. Two to three weeks pass; then, the transformation accomplished, and the fibres of the cocoon moistened from within and pushed aside in readiness, there issues forth,* into the light and air, a winged figure, "inconspicuous" in itself, but recognizable as *Bombyx mori* and possessing its race's secret of how to clothe man with regal splendor.

The uninformed would naturally want to be informed about such a creature; and the already-informed were, just as naturally, anxious to show and tell them. Consequently, no means to this end were overlooked.

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*The pupa or chrysalis may be allowed to complete this episode, as told here; or it may be artificially killed, when a perfect cocoon, and not a new generation, is desired by the grower.

In 1886, the Ladies Silk Culture Society of California purchased the building in Piedmont, mentioned in the first paragraph of this article; included in the purchase was a eucalyptus-covered tract of some fifteen acres. The federal commission, under which the building had been erected, had already planted mulberry trees in place of eucalyptus on from three to four acres, but its time had run out, making it possible for the Ladies to acquire what became known as their "ranch in Piedmont." By the time of their report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, the national organization, known as the "Ladies' Silk Culture Society of America," informed the department of agriculture at Washington, D. C., that the mulberry trees on the Piedmont property numbered about 6000, ranging in age from one to three years, "and as many cuttings, most of which are rooted." Five thousand dollars had been appropriated in 1887 by the California legislature in Section 1, Chapter CLXX of the *Statutes* enacted at its twenty-seventh session, thus making it possible for the Ladies to undertake the increased plantings. The soil on the property had been analyzed by Professor Hilgard as blackish sandy loam, usually four to six feet deep. In spite of its sandy nature, "the plant-food percentages are very satisfactory," Hilgard stated. Also high was the amount of calcareous soils; ". . . and as the land will be readily and cheaply kept in good tilth, its adaptation to the growth of the mulberry . . . seems to be good."

As to the water supply on the Piedmont site: during the presidency of Dr. Gibbons, that gentleman reported to the members, gathered together at the Horticultural Bureau, 220 Sutter Street in San Francisco, that "the services of three men had been engaged to dig a well for it." They had gone down, he said, "to a considerable depth and obtained two feet of water, but more was necessary, and their services would be required for some time longer, how long it was impossible to say." It was apparent that water costs were going to be high; fears were expressed and objections raised.* (It might be remarked here that although the presence of lime in the Piedmont soil was favorable to the mulberry, it was apt to create an alkaline condition in the water that percolated into the well. In silk reeling, alkali-free water was preferable, as the San Francisco water was said to be; otherwise the reelers' fingers tended to become sore.)

Growers of mulberry trees had been solicitous about the experiment at Piedmont. B. H. Carter, for instance, living at 733 Linden Street in Oakland, wrote on January 8, 1886, to Professor Hilgard, on stationery with a letterhead depicting ten episodes in the life of the silkworm and its products. Carter said he had "several trees of Morus alba variety which I intend grafting with the more choice varieties, the tops of which can be made [into] cuttings, which you are welcome to for Piedmont."

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*Unidentified clipping in the collection of the California Historical Society.

Merchants in San Francisco were also interested in furthering California-grown and California-made silks; for example, a trade card, distributed by the California Silk Manufacturing Co., 585 Market Street, Rodgers, Meyer & Co. proprietors, bore on one side the picture reproduced in the accompanying illustration, and on the other was an exhortation to their fellow townsmen to "Patronize Home Industry—California Spool Silks Made in San Francisco—over 100 Women and Girls employed." And on page 28 of the *Second Annual Report, State Board of Silk Culture* (Sacramento, 1885), it is said that "the house of Belding Brothers, of which Carlson and Currier are the Pacific Coast agents, has proved itself the fast friend of native-grown silk."* The Chinese consulate even contributed "gorgeous Chinese Royal Court costumes and furniture" to ornament one of the California Silk Culture Association's two booths at the Authors' Carnival in San Francisco in 1882 (see p. 17 of the association's *2d An. Rept.*). This was a remarkably courteous act on the part of a competitor nation.

Despite the efforts of those who did their best, professionally and as amateurs, to make silk culture commercially profitable in California, all ran into difficulties, mainly, as E. O. Essig points out on pages 3-4 of his "Silk Culture in California" (Univ. Calif. Agr. Exp. Sta., *Circular* 363, Oct. 1945), because skilled labor could not be secured at wages low enough to compete with those paid in the orient and in southern Europe, where it was a household industry.

Thus it came about that the Ladies Silk Culture Society was obliged to sell out the Piedmont site to a group from San Francisco, among them Warren B. Ewer, one of the society's members. But again the undertaking proved unprofitable and the property was divided up, the experiment-station building being occupied by Ewer and his family; then, after standing empty for some time, the short-story writers Philip Verill Mighels and his wife lived there; after they left, it was occupied by the novelist Herman Whitaker and his family.

The news item in the Oakland *Tribune* of April 27, 1912, from which the later events in the building's history, as given in the above paragraph, were taken, bore the sub-headline, "Famous Old Landmark In Piedmont To Be Done Away With"; it closed with the statement that the present owner proposed to have the house "demolished." Two years before the appearance of this news report, C. A. Hooper of Alameda, long prominent in the state's lumber industry and father of Mrs. Wigginton Creed, purchased twenty-three acres surrounding the "Old Landmark" and had a cabin built on the property, to serve as headquarters for the family's week-end picnics. Following her husband's death in 1914, Mrs. Hooper arranged to have the abandoned silk station taken down and the cabin enlarged into a residence for her own use, so that she could be near Mrs. Creed and other members of her family living in Piedmont. In 1925, most of the property was sold by the Hooper Estate to George Roeth and Edgar A. Jones; it has since been subdivided for the erection of suburban homes.

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*Miss L. G. Woods of San Francisco informs me that one of the three U. S. flags, manufactured from locally grown silk, was purchased by her mother and is now in Miss Woods' possession. Another was bought by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst; and the third became the property of an unspecified club.

As a postscript to the above account, I am jotting down, informally, my own experiences in connection with the silk experiment in Piedmont, after it had been taken over by Mr. Ewer. My father's residence was on Vernal Avenue; and, as the doors of the station were open to visitors, all that I and my brothers had to do, to become familiar with the daily stages in the life of the silkworm, was to climb a fence, cross a bridge, and tramp up the trail to the top of the hill. Others were interested too; and the silkworm became a popular subject for school compositions. Once, during the hatching period, I visited the building with some school friends. The attendant, observing my interest, and hearing that there was a mulberry tree in our garden, offered me a batch of eggs, which I brought home. They were put on a thin piece of cloth in a pasteboard box, and placed near the kitchen stove.

In due time that small box of tiny black specks turned into a mass of wriggling life, and every day brought greater need for more space. A good-natured Irish cook rose to the occasion, while the entire household became involved because of the rapid growth of the worms and their great consumption of leaves. We children thought they were good little things—never crawling away, but just raising their heads, as if they were asking for food. We even asserted that they heard us coming.

Instead of the fifty or a hundred that were expected to be fed from our one mulberry tree, the batch contained some 30,000 worms, all hungry (except just before each moult, or skin-shedding), and awaiting the night and morning feeding of broken mulberry leaves. Growth had become so rapid that my father bought a large tent, dark blue in color so as to soften the light. It was set up on the grass near the back door of the house, and a carpenter was engaged to build redwood frames and tray racks with fine-wire bottoms. Thus our unexpected business was launched.

The silk-culture station needed all the available leaves from its own orchard; so Mr. Ewer made arrangements for a sack of mulberry leaves to be expressed, daily, from San Mateo County to Oakland. I can still recall how carefully those leaves were bunched together. Mr. Ewer also supplied perforated paper, which was placed over the trays before the worms were given a fresh supply of leaves. The holes were made small at first; then larger. The creatures must have sensed the fragrance above them, for in no time they were cutting away with a buzzing sound. Then the under-papers were removed, leaving the racks clean again.

After about four or five weeks, the now-plump worms reached upward for spinning locations. Branches were placed over the trays, and soon only the shadow of a moving head could be seen, here and there, as the worker's silken webbing covered it from view. The cocoons became so thick among the twigs that the entire framework seemed, as one entered the tent, like a scene in fairy-land. In due time, the compact parchment-like balls were gathered into sacks and taken up to the silk station for the sulphuring process, which kills the enclosed creature. The cocoons were later weighed and sent to San Francisco for sale, the return on the investment being $29.00. This came directly into my hands and was taken to Mr. Lathrop's jewelry store on Broadway in Oakland where, with a few more dollars from my father, a silver crumb-tray and scraper were purchased as a surprise for my mother.

A word about Mr. Ewer. A signed statement, giving certain biographical details, is contained in Volume I, page 365, of such records kept by the Society of California Pioneers. Ewer was born in Windsor, Vermont, on April 22, 1841, and crossed the continent in 1849, arriving in California, via "Lawson's Cutoff," on October 9, 1849. He died in Piedmont, September 9, 1906.

ADDENDUM: I am indebted to Mrs. Emily C. Hittell of San Francisco for the following brief sketch of the California woman whose name occurred most frequently among sponsors of a local silk industry, 1890-1900:

Mrs. Theodore H. (Elise Christine Wiehe) Hittell came to California in 1849 in a sailing vessel around Cape Horn, bringing with her some Holland bulbs and an old Dutch Bible. She planned to teach German in San Francisco but was married, soon after her arrival, to Mr. Hittell, a graduate of Yale College and at that time a newspaper correspondent.

Mrs. Hittell was a thorough student and a lover of America, especially California. In a short time, her home on Turk Street became a center for literary people. Almost as famous among her friends as her literary talents was her skill as a cook. She enjoyed cooking, and considered the presence of good food on her dinner table a prerequisite to good conversation. The combination proved to be flawless as a method of encouraging young people to go on with their education — a subject about which she was deeply concerned.

She was greatly interested, also, in science, and was one of the first women members of the California Academy of Sciences. Particularly was she interested in an applied branch of science — the culture of the silkworm. She studied not only the mechanics of raising silkworms and the processing of silk, but she informed herself about their diseases, including the parasite-induced disease of pebrine, which had been investigated by Louis Pasteur (b. 1822; d. 1895). Pasteur's work was discussed by Mrs. Hittell in a lecture — the last one she was able to give. She died of cancer in 1900.

Putting a Lid on California

An Unpublished Diary of the Portolá Expedition
by José de Cañizares

Translated and edited by
VIRGINIA E. THICKENS
and
MARGARET MOLLINS

(Concluded)

April 17

In the morning we asked the Indian native, by means of signs, where there was water. We could not understand him because our interpreter was not here to talk to him, the Christian Indians having deserted us on the fifteenth. Those who remained did not understand anything. As it was evident that there was no hope whatever of their taking us to the water hole, this native and the boy were given beads and sent on their way.

At eight o'clock in the morning we left this valley and took a north-northwest route, swinging sometimes to the north and at other times northwest. At one-thirty in the afternoon we came to a well-pastured valley with much alkali.[60] We dedicated this valley to Santo Toribio, and in it we found, on a hillside, a watering place which ran down from a pool of water that had the delightful taste of bitter almonds and the tartness of alkali. A little farther down there was a marsh where the water was not quite so bad. This valley and the two which we passed run from northeast to southwest. Along the road near this place we saw two wooded arroyos whose shrubbery in the distance appeared to be well watered, but they were very narrow and closed in.

The valley of Santo Toribio appeared to have some moist land, but none of it seemed very usable. We did not know if, near the shore, there was running water for irrigation because from a distance it was not possible to tell. From San Raphael to this place it is five leagues. Nothing unusual occurred, the orders which the captain gave for the night being carried out.

5 leagues

April 18

At eight o'clock in the morning we set out from this camp and went north-northwest, but, not being able to follow this route because of the hills, we turned to the northwest through a wide plain which extended in that direction. At twelve o'clock we came to another place, well wooded and with water in a marsh. We dedicated it to Santa Ysabel, and, observing the latitude, found it to be 32°. A league away from the camp from which we had come, we saw two houses and went over toward them. An elderly native whom we asked to accompany us indicated that he would, and, preparing himself with his bow and arrow, he guided us to this place. It is wonderful to see not only how these Indians manage to manufacture their well-finished earthen pots, but also the curious manner in which they take the fibres from the heart of the mescal and weave a patterned cloth such as we found on this old man.

This marsh of Santa Ysabel is an appropriate place to establish a mission,[61] because, although we saw no more water than what was in the marsh and some watering places on the slope of a hill, there is a great deal of moist land on which many fanegas of grain could be raised. Moreover, the view is extensive, and the valley covers such a large area that it seems impossible that with examination and improvement one could fail to find water either at the beginning or the end of it because, as far as we could see, the soil shows no evidence of alkali. The men went out to look around, and they said that since water was present in some places and in others disappeared, there was no doubt that, at the beginning or end of the valley, there was running water. Today, to reach this camp site, we traveled four leagues. In the afternoon the native was sent away after he had been given some beads. Nothing unusual occurred, and the captain's orders for the night were carried out.

4 leagues

April 19

At eight o'clock in the morning we set out, traveling to the northwest, then angling to the west. After following this route through mountainous country for about three leagues, we came upon a valley that seemed to be good, although it was a disappointment, because it did not have what it appeared to have; for, although we saw a grove of alders, we found no water. At one-thirty in the afternoon we came to another valley which was well-covered with these trees, had much pasture, but lacked water.[62] The slight information that we had of this valley forced us to make camp, and the scouts went out with the captain to look for a watering place where the animals might drink. They reported having found only a little pool from which it would be very difficult for us to drink. This valley was very much closed in and surrounded by hills, and we gave it the name of Los Alisos Secos. On this day's journey we saw some beautiful hills, and from one a rock was picked up which indicated the presence of rich minerals. The barrenness of the land continued. To reach this camp we traveled five leagues over a rough trail. Nothing eventful happened, and the men were distributed for the night as the captain ordered.

5 leagues

April 20

At seven-thirty in the morning we set out from camp to continue our journey and went northwest along the rim of the hills. We traveled about two leagues in the above direction, and, not being able to go any farther, we turned to the west. We saw the ocean very close to us and the crest of a hill toward the west-northwest, at whose foot lay the waters of the sea.[63] In a valley to which we descended we found two little pools of water, and we had to stop because everyone was in great need of it. The captain ordered all the escort of scouts to go to see if they could find water and a road where the valley opens out. They returned at sunset and reported having found both, but that the water was three leagues distant. We camped at noon because we were in danger of dying of thirst. We must have traveled two leagues along the sierra and road. Nothing eventful happened, and the captain's orders for the night were observed.

2 leagues

April 21

At six-thirty in the morning we set out northwest and in a short time turned north-northwest, for we had entered the arroyo where the water had been found. At half-past ten we stopped in this arroyo, which we dedicated to San Anselmo.[64] The land is not very good for cultivation, because it is enclosed in a narrow canyon and does not have enough water. The soldiers who came with the pack animals told us that near the camp from which we had come there was running water, and the reason we had not seen it was that it was covered with grass. Today I took the latitude which was 32° 16′, and we traveled about three leagues.

This morning a Christian Indian who had been sick for days was found dead. The captain had gone out and brought back a report of what lay ahead.

3 leagues

April 22

At eight o'clock in the morning we set out from the camp site toward the northeast. In a short time we turned north, and having gone about a league and a half, we reached the valley which the captain had seen the day before. We dedicated it to San Francisco Solano. On inspection it appeared to be a very appropriate spot for a mission, for in the part we saw, which must have been about a league, we found two streams of water.[65] One came out of the ground flowing for a little way, but after about eight varas it disappeared. The larger rushed through a channel that came through the middle of the valley, running about two hundred varas, and then disappearing into the ground. Another little arroyo joined this one, coming down from some tree-covered hills. We did not know if the eastern part of this valley had water since we had not examined it. We saw many willow, alder, cottonwood, and live oak trees. In the afternoon the captain went out with the scouts to look over the country. On his return, he told me that this valley ran down toward the beach of the opposite coast, that it continued to be very fertile as indicated by the above-mentioned trees, and that within their area, the water formed a marsh which, at first sight, appeared to be cultivable. We did not know whether or not there was more water closer to the beach on the opposite coast. This is a beautiful valley, and it is very well pastured. Although there is some alkali, it does not detract from the value of the land, for (in the event a mission is established) the area which is spoiled in this fashion would not be needed. We arrived at ten o'clock in the morning, and I took the latitude which was 32° 20′. Today we traveled one and a half leagues, and nothing else occurred except the carrying out of the captain's orders.

1½ leagues

April 23

At eight o'clock in the morning we left this place, going northwest by north. After traveling about a league and a half we came to another valley where there was water in a marsh and a spring of warm water. This water was pleasant tasting when allowed to cool. The spring was entirely surrounded by many live oaks and alders, and according to what those who are informed on the subject say, a good mission could be established in San Francisco Solano because of the nearness of the two places.[66] This place, which we dedicated to San Jorge, could help with the cultivation of that mission, for it is very suitable for raising crops and cattle. The captain went out with the scouts, and on his return he told me he had seen the ocean and a great bay and an island, which I assume to be La Ensenada de las Vírgenes,[67] and that the sierra ran out to the edge of the sea. Nothing else happened except for the carrying out of the captain's nightly orders. Today we traveled a league and a half. When we arrived at this place two natives called to us from the top of a hill, but on our approach they ran away.

1½ leagues

April 24

Tonight we had quite a bit of trouble because the animals stampeded twice. The scouts were sent out to see if there were any pass by which we could cross the mountains. They returned at twelve o'clock and said there was a road and water about three leagues away. Our reason for not leaving this afternoon was to avoid being caught on the road in the dark and thus risking an unforeseen accident. We saw four Indian houses at this camp site. We carried out the captain's nightly orders.

April 25

It was raining at dawn, and because of this we were prevented from leaving, the rain continuing at the same rate until three in the afternoon. A mule, which one of the soldiers on guard had tied up, appeared this morning with an arrow wound. We were not able to find out from the sentinels who could have done it because the mule was 150 paces away from the camp. The arrow was pulled out of him, and he was all right. We did not set forth today because we were too wet. We had to take the same precautions as on the day before, but nothing unusual happened. The captain's orders were carried out, and a sentinel posted.

April 26

It rained last night, and we had trouble with the horses because they stampeded three times. At ten o'clock in the morning we set out, going over some hills to the northeast. After a little while we turned to the north-northeast, and, when we went down into the valley, we turned north. At two-thirty in the afternoon we came to an arroyo which we dedicated to Los Mártires.[68] It runs to the west-northwest and is well covered with live oaks and alders, but it has little water for there are only some pools. There were two little hills covered with brush, and nothing else in particular. We traveled three leagues. There was no unusual occurrence, and we carried out the captain's orders.

3 leagues

April 27

In the morning the scouts were ordered out to see if they could find a road and water. They returned at nine o'clock and reported that the country seemed to open out enough for travel, but that there was no hope of finding water because all the land was dry and barren. This made it necessary for us to carry water in water bags and barrels. At eleven o'clock in the morning we set out from the Arroyo de los Mártires toward the north, the captain and ten soldiers going ahead to see if they could find water. After traveling about two leagues they found themselves hemmed in by the sierra, and it was impossible to travel in any direction from 1° to 4° on the quadrant. This forced us to call a halt at two o'clock in the afternoon on a small plain which had no water but was convenient for pitching camp.[69] At this time the scouts left to see if they could cross the sierra. They returned at night and reported that they had not found a way because there were rugged hills everywhere which ended in barrancas, and this had kept them from descending a single hill. Nothing else occurred, the captain's nightly orders being carried out.

2 leagues

April 28

The scouts, and I in their company, set out according to the captain's orders with instructions to look for the sea and to note the island. The leader of the escort was to search for a water hole and a road. On arriving at the beach I saw an island which stood out in bold relief and must have been that of Todos Santos in the bay of the same name. We were very much confused because we had such an inaccurate map. We found a road, and, a league from here, a watering place; at sunset we went back to camp and reported this to the captain. Nothing else happened beyond the observance of his orders for the care of the animals.

April 29

We set out for the water hole which lay to the west-southwest, and after traveling a league we stopped near it. Last night the animals stampeded twice, giving us a great deal of trouble. We did not travel today because the mules were in great need of water, and we remained here without any unusual occurrence. We carried out the orders of the captain, and he set out at two in the afternoon for the beach to affirm what I have already said.

1 league

April 30

In the morning holy Mass was said. We spent most of last night in caring for the animals, which were very restless. In the afternoon the captain returned and reported having found a water hole near the seashore about seven leagues distant from us. Nothing eventful happened, the captain's orders being carried out. Water was found in a grove of live oaks and alders, and the place was dedicated to San Prudencio.

May 1

The holy sacrifice of the Mass was observed, and at one o'clock in the afternoon we set out, toward the west-southwest in order to reach the seacoast. After traveling about three leagues we stopped near the sea,[70] and when we went down to the beach we saw a large crowd of natives. This sight, and the fact that we had already suspected the heathen would be gathered on the shore, prompted the captain to erect a temporary entrenchment around the camp site, using our gear for a barricade. We kept careful watch with six sentinels acting as a guard.

3 leagues

May 2

At six-thirty in the morning we started out north by north-northwest in search of the water hole. We reached it at nine-thirty, having traveled along the above route for three leagues over level land near the sea. We found that the water hole was good, abundant, and near the beach, and that it was close to a promontory which forms a roadstead protected from the northwest wind, a convenient place for a watering station.[71] At noon I took the latitude at a point east-northeast of the two islands which must be those of Todos Santos, and found it to be 32° 26′. We took care of the animals, and after the sun had set, we made an entrenchment with our gear for shelter. On the top of a hill some natives kept up such a clamor that the captain ordered the guards doubled, armed with their leather jackets, and everybody on the alert for the Indians.

3 leagues

May 3

As we knew nothing of the country ahead, we did not start out today, and the scouts went to look for a route for the next day's journey. They returned at ten o'clock and reported that they had found a water hole at the northern end of this bay.

In the afternoon the captain went out to see if there was a passable route away from the seacoast. He returned at sunset, warning the company that he had seen some Indians. One was so bold that if our men had not exercised continual caution along the road something serious might have happened; for they thought that, from behind the shelter of some bushes, this Indian had put an arrow in his bow and was going to aim at the captain himself. We remained on guard as the situation demanded, the captain suggesting to his soldiers that they ought to practice in case it should be necessary to shoot. Two sentinels were posted, and the horse herd kept nearby with six armed soldiers for a night guard.

May 4

Mass was said as on the day before, and at nine o'clock we set out, to the north-northwest, in search of the northern point of this bay. We reached it at eleven o'clock, having traveled three leagues over level land. At noon I took the latitude and found it to be 32° 29′. The islands of Todos Santos run northeast to southwest, and the two points of this bay from northwest to southeast, and off the southern point we counted eleven small rocky islands.

While we were in the mountains during the afternoon,[72] we saw nineteen natives who were shouting at us from a hill. They were armed with bows and arrows, and this put us on our guard. The captain deployed the men, in case anything should happen, but the natives went away, and we made camp and erected a barricade. The watch was doubled in case of danger.

May 5 3 leagues

We did not set out, but the scouts went out with an escort and leader to look for a road. They were unable to report success because the way was blocked by the steepness of the hills which ran right down to the sea. We stayed on guard in camp, and in the afternoon some Indians appeared on the same hill. They were armed as on the day before, and they indicated a desire to fight and then withdrew. The sentinels were doubled, and the orders the captain gave for the night were carried out.

May 6

We did not set forth today because no camp site had been chosen, and the scouts went to look for one. We stayed where we were and kept careful watch. The scouts came back and reported having found a lovely valley four leagues away from us, but we waited until tomorrow to go in search of it. As nothing of note occurred, we took the necessary precautions, and carried out the orders the captain gave for the night. Since yesterday, everyone excepting the father, because of the lack of provisions, was put on such a limited ration that there was only enough food to prevent fainting. Each person was allotted eight ounces of flour made into two tortillas daily.

May 7

Mass was said, and at seven o'clock in the morning we started out, taking a route north by north-northwest and then angling toward the west. After traveling about four leagues we saw an island in the sea which must be one of the Coronados.[73] Continuing to the northwest we went down into a very well-pastured valley which we called San Estanislao.[74] As soon as we left the camp some natives appeared on a hill and shouted at us, so we continued with caution and with our arms in readiness. Soon these Indians reached the place where we were, took up their usual position on the hills, and from there they shouted at us and made gestures as if shooting arrows. They did shoot one toward the spot where the animals were, so we kept our weapons handy until they went away. We stopped at the foot of a large live oak which is the type of wood that abounds in this valley. Having arrived at eleven-thirty we pitched camp. Nothing unusual occurred, and we carried out the captain's orders for the night, stationing two sentinels to guard the entrenchment and four with the animals. We traveled four leagues.

4 leagues

May 8

At seven-thirty in the morning we left this camp, going west-northwest. After traveling about two and one-half leagues we discovered at four o'clock, an arroyo which emptied into the sea and from which there was no way to descend to where we wanted to go.[75] We had to retrace our steps and stop nearby in order to look for a way down the next day. From this height we had a beautiful view; all along the road, we had traveled through rolling hills well covered with pasture. We took every precaution, carried out the captain's orders, and doubled the watch.

As soon as we left the camp (the place where we had spent the preceding night) two natives began to follow and shout at us. Twenty-seven more appeared and also followed us, so we stopped, and the captain ordered the soldiers to bring the mules and horses up with the rest of the company. As soon as they saw that we had halted, the Indians climbed a hill. Since none of them followed us we went on our way, but a short time later they appeared on another nearby hill which we were crossing. They were shouting as before, so the captain stopped and had the mules and horses brought up again, at the same time placing us in position for defense. So that they would not think we were afraid of them the captain ordered his soldiers to put on their leather jackets, take their shields in their left hands, and their guns in their right, and form a line of battle. The captain went out with six lancers and approached the hill where the natives were gathered. The latter shot three arrows at our captain and his escort, and our men quickly shielded themselves from the flying missiles. The captain fired a shot at the boldest of the Indians, and one of the soldiers followed up with another. Neither of them hit a single Indian, but the sound of the shot was medicine enough to drive them from the top of the hill. Our anxiety not to lose sight of the Indians kept us occupied and prevented us from continuing our march. We stayed in this position about three hours until the natives left, and we were able to go on our way.

2½ leagues

May 9

In the morning we went down to the above-mentioned arroyo, which we dedicated to San Juan Bautista. It is a very pleasant and delightful place with all the necessities for the establishment of a mission. Water was found in a well-filled pool, and there were many trees on the very moist and fertile lands around it. We traveled a league to get down to this valley, and as soon as we reached it the Indians, from a ranchería of seventeen houses which was here, fled to a little hill. The captain decided to see if he could win them over with some ribbons and beads, and, while he succeeded in this, he endangered himself by going to the foot of the hill to leave the trinkets. As soon as the Indians saw these, one of them came down, and as a sign of peace, put some arrows in the same spot as a proof of gratitude. Very shortly, when the news had spread among them, Indian women, children, and men came down to the camp, and after we had given them beads they stayed among us very happily.

1 league

May 10

In the morning we started out, taking six natives with us to show us the way to the watering place. We took a north-northwesterly route and then turned west-northwest. The Indians shouted at us and pointed out where we were to go, until, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we came to a valley very close to the seashore where our native companions showed us the watering place.[76] They said goodbye and left us, except for one who went along to give the news to another ranchería. From it other Indians came to meet us, and made us a long speech (of which I missed the point for I could not understand a single thing). We counted in all sixty-two natives, to whom we gave beads. They went back to their rancherías, and at sunset we formed entrenchments and posted guards, but nothing else occurred. Today we traveled four leagues.

4 leagues

May 11

In the morning we set out north-northwest along the seashore, accompanied by seventeen natives (who went with us in the hope of getting beads). We left the coast and continued through some rolling hills, and about four o'clock in the afternoon we saw two islands, one of them being the same that we saw on the 7th. At five o'clock we stopped in another valley which runs down to the seashore and is very well covered with trees, and has a pool of water.[77] Some Indians came from another ranchería, and we gave them beads. One of them had an ornament hanging from his nose, and, according to the signs he made, the sea expedition had given the trinket to him. It made us very happy to get this most welcome news.[78] Nothing eventful happened, so we made an entrenchment, posted two guards, and carried out the captain's orders for the night. Today we traveled four leagues.

4 leagues

May 12

We set out from this place at eight o'clock in the morning toward the north-northwest. When we had traveled about two leagues, we saw that we would have to stop because of the great body of Indians in front of us. We made camp near the seashore and recognized the islands, which we had seen from a distance, to be the Coronados.[79] They are composed of four islands and three small rocky isles. Therefore, we estimated that we were eight leagues from the port of San Diego. Beads were given to these Indians, who were very clever in trying to bargain and also in stealing; for they stole from two soldiers, from one his spurs, and from the other his blankets. Nothing unusual occurred and the captain's orders were carried out. We traveled two leagues.

2 leagues

May 13

In the morning we set out along the edge of the beach. After traveling about a league I saw the rocky point above the port of San Diego, at a distance of six or seven leagues. We followed the shore and discovered a bay which extended more than five leagues inland. We followed along it, going northwest, but having found a running stream, we stopped to water the animals.[80] Some Indians came to camp, and we gave them beads. Nothing unusual occurred aside from the great caution we took because so many Indians had assembled. We made an entrenchment and stationed sentinels. Today we traveled one and a half leagues.

When the Indians came to the camp one of them, who must have been their captain, made a great oration. Another put an arrow in his bow in order to shoot a soldier, and, if the captain and his men had not taken the usual precautions, something unfortunate might have happened. All the country from here to the port of San Diego appears to be very flat and has an abundance of grass. At this place we had no firewood to make tortillas so the captain decided to burn the poles of his campaign tent.

1½ leagues

May 14—Feast of Espíritu Santo

It was raining at daybreak, and, when it stopped, we set out at ten o'clock in search of the port of San Diego. After traveling about a league we had the great joy of seeing in the distance the two packet boats, the *San Carlos* and *El Principe*, anchored in the port. We continued on our way, to the displeasure of the Indians who were trying to force us to stop at their ranchería. After traveling six leagues we came to the place where the ships lay at anchor; we hailed them, and were answered from aboard the vessels and from the shelters on the beach. We reached the encampment at five o'clock in the afternoon and heard the news that the whole sea expedition was sick from scurvy. We stopped here, and the following day, the 15th of May, learning that there was a river near this port,[81] we went to it and pitched camp and built a barricade. The sick men were made ready and taken from the ships to the place where we were lodged. This was done on the 17th.

From the 18th of May to the 28th of June the company of Don Fernando de Rivera has been assisting with the work of the ships and in unloading *El Principe.* Some huts for the men and a corral for the animals have been constructed. We have not been able to establish a mission because our time has been spent in the above-mentioned tasks.

June 29 6 leagues

The governor arrived. He has resolved to go on by land, in spite of having to leave the ships behind, and to station an escort of eight soldiers at the mission which is under construction. This diary shows that this port is 121 leagues from the new mission of Villacatá. I have experienced, seen, and examined all that I present in this diary, which is now finished on the 3rd of July, 1769.

José de Cañizares

NOTES

60. In the hills about three or four miles east of Mexican highway No. 1.

61. Near San Vicente on the highway. A Dominican mission of that name was later founded nearby.

62. They traveled through the hills northwest of San Vicente and camped a few miles southwest of Santa Cruz on the present-day highway.

63. They were looking northwest toward Punta San José.

64. In the hills east of Punta San José.

65. They were on Río Santo Tomás, some three miles west of the present town on the highway. Small Arroyo Chocolate joins the river a mile or so down from their camp site.

66. He refers here to yesterday's camp site, San Francisco Solano, and the camp for this day, San Jorge, which was near the site of La Grulla on the highway.

67. This was the Bay of Todos Santos, mentioned in the Introduction. From the angle at which Rivera observed it, he would be unable to see the second island, which was hidden by the larger and closer one.

68. Instead of following the route of the highway northwest to the beach of Todos Santos Bay, they went north through the hills to Río San Carlos.

69. In the mountains southeast of Ensenada.

70. On the beach about ten miles south of Ensenada.

71. The promontory of which Cañizares speaks is Punta Ensenada.

72. The steep cliffs west of Ensenada cut off their march along the shore, so for the first league they circled back through the hills. The present highway along the shore was cut through by dynamiting. Back on the shore, they followed the route of the highway across Arroyo Sauzal and camped on Arroyo Carmen, at the foot of the ridge which juts out into the sea at Punta San Miguel.

73. The islands still bear this name. They had previously been called "Islas Desiertas" by Cabrillo, and "Islas de San Martín" by Vizcaino.

74. They left the shore, to avoid the cliffs of Punta San Miguel, and followed a branch of Arroyo Carmen that runs straight north. The valley they reached was on Río Guadalupe before it swings north.

75. They climbed away from the river up to a mesa to the northwest. The valley they saw, and could not get down to, was on Río Guadalupe, where it flows west toward the sea. Mission San Miguel was later founded in the vicinity, probably closer to the sea.

76. Keeping away from the coast, because the cliffs blocked their way, they traveled over grass-covered mesas to Río Descanso and camped on the shore, near the spot where Mission Descanso was later founded.

77. They went the short distance down Río Descanso to the beach and traveled along it for a league, until they reached the arroyo that runs into the ocean at Mégano. They then angled somewhat northeast instead of following the coast line to Punta Descanso. Camp was on Río Rosario at Rosarito Beach.

78. The two ships, *San Antonio* (*El Principe*) and *San Carlos*, had already reached San Diego.

79. They were just opposite the Coronados Islands.

80. Cañizares may have underestimated their mileage for the day, for it seems likely that the running stream they camped on was Tijuana River. Crespi gives three hours of travel for the day. This was their first night in present-day California, and of course it rained.

81. San Diego River.

Diary of Emma C. Derby

Bancroft's Guest Keeps Record of European Tour,

March 25–August 6, 1867

(Continued)

"Friday. My teacher in music tells me I am improving. After the lesson I went to Mme. Mercier's where my Uncle & Aunt soon joined me. He . . . bought some beautiful lace at 'Compagnie des Indes.' The Fosters leave for Bruxelles tomorrow, therefore we had them up here to tea – also the Havens."

Saturday, she had to stay in all day because of a cold. "But Uncle H. went out, and brought back a striped shawl for our family. Also some Herz music for me. . . . *Dear me,* I wish I could practice *ten hours* a day. Every day we are out, and every evening callers come – so it goes. Mr. & Mrs. Shephard from Buffalo called tonight, and we heard afterwards that in going home their coachman, who was fast asleep, ran against another coach, and Mrs. S. was tumbled out, and suffered for a week or more. She was quite lame from it.

"Sabbath, 28th . . . Aunt Em and I went to the American chapel with the Eastmans. . . . 'Sidney' . . . gave me his photograph not long ago, and has been very polite."

On the 29th, Monday, it was cold and rainy. "The Eastmans were in our room in the eve. After I had played cards a while with the young gentleman, we drew profiles, etc.

"30th. Rainy again. I have all day to practice these days. Four hours it has been today. After dinner I amused myself with Harper a short time, while the Havens were drinking tea, and examining Uncle H.'s new oil paintings, just arrived from Rome. One was his portrait, a present to Uncle H. Another, a Magdalene, and the third one of Murillo's conceptions. Uncle H. said, afterwards, 'If I was in Emma's place I would not play another game of cards or read another story while I was in Europe.' Well, I guess I won't. It is time wasted, just as money is wasted – when one being tired of beef & potatoes spends it for sweet-meats. Still I think sometimes they are almost necessary.

"Wednesday, May 1st. May has come into the year 1867 with a warm bright smile. . . . We drove to the Exhibition for the last time. We saw the buildings outside this time. I am sorry to say the American part of the Exposition does not amount to much. We passed by a Turkish Restaurant in the course of our day, and Uncle H. took us in, saying it was the nearest we would ever get to Turkey....

"May 2d, another beautiful day. We drove to Bon Marché, where they bought a pretty new dress for me. We leave Paris next week, therefore took a cab to make calls." She gives no names; no one was at home. "... This was an evening ride.

"May 3d. My last lesson of Mr. Herz. He gave me a letter, saying I was one of his pupils, and had real and brilliant talents. He also gave me three tickets to hear Blind Tom, who plays in the 'Salle Herz,' same building. . . ." She took the two Eastmans. "Blind Tom . . . plays finely and also after hearing a piece played once, he repeats the same thing, exactly. Uncle H. bought another quantity of music, composed by my teacher. He says I may have it bound in London, and I shall have a fine 'Herz book.' . . ."

May 4th,* Saturday. She called on Mrs. Shephard at the Grand Hotel. (Mrs. S. had been ill.) Then she had tea in the Eastmans' – brother and sister – room. She saw a throat-cutting row opposite. ". . . the people made such a noise. It must be fearful here during a Revolution. The french are so excitable. Four bonnets came home tonight, also Aunt's new black velvet dress with a train.... We spent the afternoon on the Champs Élysées, taking two different sets of chairs – and saw the Empress drive by twice. She looked very pretty. She wore a brown silk dress and a brown straw bonnet like mine – just the shape too.

. . . .

"Monday 6th. I practiced for the last time this morning. I was going back to the piano, when they came to take my old friend away. The month for it had expired." The diarist and Miss Eastman went sight-seeing to the Parc Monceau. In the evening, she and her aunt and the two Eastmans went for a walk. "The Champs Élysées is beautiful," she says, "by gas-light."

Tuesday, the 7th, they went sight-seeing all day – to Père La Chaise Cemetery, Hotel de Cluny, and the Palais des Thermes which joins it. "The Hotel or house is full of ancient furniture – some such old pianos we saw there! One was only four octaves long, but it was framed and gilded as though it had been thought quite a marvel in its day. I suppose the old Queens have played on it, and their daughters. The Palais is what remains of the home of the old Roman Emperors, when France was in their hands. A large room open on all sides, with a ground floor filled with broken antique statues, is all that remains. This room is what was called the Frigidarium, or Cold bath. Then we went to the Musée Luxembourg.... The artists are all living. As soon as one dies, his works are removed to the Louvre. We drove by the Panthéon, a large church. Uncle H. and I went inside, but the outside is the handsomest. The corinthian pillars are the largest I ever dreamed of seeing. Then Aunt Em went off to her dressmakers after taking us to 'Le Jardin des Plantes,' which we walked about. We saw Cuvier's [1769-1832] collection of Comparative Anatomy. Also the mineralogical and botanical collection, also the geological — which comprises all the known rocks and stones in the world. Then we walked about among the animals. . . .

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*Bancroft wrote in his "Journal . . ." on May 4, 1867 (p. 192): "I complete today 35 years. I commence tomorrow on my 36th. It seems as though I ought to have better sense at 35 than I have...."

"Wednesday, May 8th. My mother sent for me to bring her some valenciennes lace, and after packing all the morning, Uncle Hubert went to Compagnie des Indes and got some. . . . I met Mr. Ruggles there. . . . He told me I looked as fresh as possible, quite like a Parisienne. He was buying a point appliqué lace for his wife — a shawl. He has been sick a day or two, and may return to America in a week or two. . . . I spent the eve. putting lace onto skirts etc. for Mr. Custom House officers' inspection. We also put on all the kid gloves — 6 or 7 dozen — before they were packed.

"Thursday, May 9th. This is our last day for Paris, for the present. We start, with Dr. and Mrs. Haven to go a little ways with us, tomorrow at half past seven for Brussels. We were packing this morning — and at noon five large trunks* were sent to John Munroe's for storage until we return, and go to England. I have my little one to travel with, and the others have one between them. We went to the Louvre this afternoon, but could not stay long, as they closed it at four o'clock. We stayed a while in the 'Jardin des Tuilleries,' took chairs and heard a band of music which played there. We caught a glimpse of the Empress driving through the grounds. We had to wait so long before we found seats in an omnibus, that Aunt Emily became quite vexed. . . . Well, goodbye to Paris. It is beautiful now. Mr. Kern came to bid us goodby, in our room. So did the Eastmans. They expect to see us in Bristol.

"Amsterdam, Wednesday 15th [which dates back to Friday, 10th day of May]. . . . early in the morning of this day instead of being on the 7.30 o'clock train as we intended, we were waiting in the depot for the next train to Brussels at 8.30. . . . As we were all pressing on for the door, which led, as we thought, to the train to Brussels, Dr. Haven's cabman grabbed Uncle H.'s arm saying he had not paid him. Uncle H. threw him off with one jerk. Now he had paid his cabman, but Dr. H. in vain trying to find *his* — as the police do not allow cabs to stand where they let their passengers descend – he had no more time to hunt, and proceeded with the party. After 'the jerk,' the gentlemen and Aunt Emily (I wondered why she went) returned to pay the cabman. Mrs. H. and I . . . consented to stay there until their return. But they did not come. It was nearly time for the train to start and yet they did not come. Mrs. H. began to grow uneasy. Only four minutes more – but we saw nothing of them. Then Mrs. Haven said we must do something, and requested me to ask the railway official, who guarded the entrance (they do not allow the passengers to 'cross' the lines until they can show their tickets, and we had no tickets, the gentlemen having kept them), how many more minutes before the train started for Brussels. 'The train for Brussels,' he says, 'oh! vite, vite!' So he pointed to another door, or gateway, when another man took up the cry, & beckoned us to follow him. We at last reached the *right* door. (We had been at the wrong place all the time) but the door was locked – we could not possibly get through. We were in despair, when we saw Uncle H. running where they were, and beckoning us to follow – whereupon we ran as fast as we could, rushed through the baggage room and jumped across the platform for trunks (the gate to this was shut also. It is a wonder the men standing about did not stop us, but we did it so quickly they were surprised, and could only stand looking at us), and at last joined Mr. H. and Aunt Emily, on the platform, watching the moving off of the train. It was too bad. Uncle H. said, 'Now Emma, if you do not follow me *next* time, you will be left behind.' And he told Dr. Haven if he had been smarter, he would have hunted us up. Then, in only a few moments after, he apologized for both speeches, saying he would take everything back, etc. So we had quite an exciting time of it. However we got off on the next train. The entrance, by the way, being the same one we two waited at so long. We passed through beautiful country. . . . But the heat, and dust, were *almost* unendurable. . . . We reached Brussels at seven or eight in the evening, and drove to the 'Hotel Bellevue.' . . . After eating, we strolled about town. There is a beautiful park in front of the hotel, and about that are situated the government houses, and the king's palace, all of which are very fine buildings.

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*On the subject of these commodious receptacles, Bancroft wrote in his "Journal . . ." on May 4th (p. 191): "Paris means dry-goods, first to get the dry-goods, then to pay for them, but to get them whether or no, and then to wear them. . . . I have one trunk about the size of Noah's Ark, and one about half as large again, besides half a dozen more of various smaller sizes. I have 35 dresses, 15 bonnets, 75 pairs of gloves, and everything else in proportion, except money."

"Saturday, 11th. We had no trunks last night; they were not in Brussels, at the entrepot – they stopped on the line between France and Belgium. Could not get through the custom house without being examined. After a comfortable breakfast, we started off in two carriages to see Brussels. It was very warm. . . . After driving about town we went to the depot to start off on the next train for Antwerp. . . . At Aunt Emily's suggestion Uncle H. stayed [in Brussels] until he could telegraph for the trunks to come on. . . . We went to the 'Hotel St. Antoine' [Antwerp]. It seemed real lonely without my Uncle. Aunt Emily and I had a room together, it was quite pleasant to have a room-mate again. . . .

"Sunday 12th. The first thing we heard in the morning was that Dr. Haven had been over to the cathedral and seen the pictures. Ruben's 'Descent from the Cross' was among them. It is his masterpiece. . . . We *ladies* went to the Cathedral after breakfast. . . . We went to the Protestant English church, returned home, had a luncheon of bread, beer and cheese – then went to sleep in the afternoon. . . . 'We' had a letter from Uncle H. He said he had not left Brussels – that the trunks were there, and he would join us in the morning. We were all glad to hear from him. Aunt Em and I retired at nine o'clock – and got up at eight. So I think that we have made up our lack of sleep. . . .

"Monday 13th. With 'our traps' in our hands we went to the depot to meet Uncle H. and to go on if he wished to. But we had not seen Antwerp enough, we thought, and from the dépôt, where we were all delighted to have Uncle H. join us, we visited an old convent which is now turned into a picture gallery. Two of Rubens best are here – 'Christ hanging between the two thieves,' and his 'Dead Christ.' . . . His figures are very gross looking. We then visited their zoology gardens to see . . . the blue monkeys. They were quite funny. The other animals were much like those in the Jardin des Plantes at Paris. Only they have an elephant here. . . . We drove about the town. . . . [They then took the train for Rotterdam; weather not so warm.] I 'read up' about Holland on the way. Half way to Rotterdam we took the steamer on the Meuse, a branch of the Rhine. . . . As soon as we reached the 'Pays Bas' hotel, Aunt Em ordered some tea to 'warm her up' after we had taken a short stroll about the town by lamp-light. . . . My room tonight opened right out of Uncle's, which I liked very much.

"Tuesday 14th. We have done a great deal of sight-seeing today, even to seeing *a live queen.* I spent the morning running about the Rotterdam docks with Uncle H., Dr. Haven, and a guide. . . . We saw the house in which Erasmus was born in 1467. We returned to find the ladies shivering, when we got into a carriage and drove through the part of town in which the wealthy inhabitants live. . . . Then we drove to the depot, and took the train to Amsterdam. We stopped at 'La Haye' [The Hague] on the way, spending two or three hours there. There is a picture gallery of the dutch masters. The picture called 'The Young Bull' is the lion of the collection – by Paul Potter. The king's palace is also in the town. But we did not go into it. Our guide (for we had one here also) took us to a place where we had a good hot coffee luncheon, then we drove out . . . to 'the house in the woods' as they call it, which is the palace of the Queen of Holland. . . ."

They saw the queen as she stepped into her carriage; she gave them "a very gracious bow." Both the queen and her lady-in-waiting "wore old lilac silk dresses—and old fashioned bonnets. The queen wore pretty curls however. . . ." After she had driven off, Emma and her uncle and aunt went inside the palace—"exquisite paintings, statuary and furniture" in each room. Then they proceeded to Amsterdam. "We drove in an omnibus to the 'Hotel Brock's Dollen' which is two hundred and fifty years old. . . .

"Wednesday 15th day of May . . . After breakfast 'the guide' took us to the picture gallery here, then to the King's palace. . . . It is the handsomest palace I have been in, I think. . . . From here we walked to a wharf where we stepped into a ferry boat to be taken across an arm or estuary of the 'Zuider Zee.' Here we had a fine view of Amsterdam. We see windmills everywhere—two or three hundred in one landscape view. These mills draw off the water (by means of archimedes screw) from the land, and pour it into the canals. After landing we got into a sort of omnibus and started for the village of Brock. . . . Brock is celebrated for its neatness . . . no wagon or any vehicle drawn by a horse is allowed inside the town. . . . On our way back Dr. H., Uncle H., and I got out of the carriage to see a windmill. It was a saw mill, and the four arms worked forty one saws at once." She describes the advantages provided guests in some hotels: mirrors attached to the windows outside—for reflecting to the person sitting within all that passes on the street, above and below. "We saw them first at Brussels. . . ." The guide tried to gouge both her uncle and Mr. Haven about expenses, "and the gentlemen both knew it. Still they paid him nearly all." The Havens left Bancroft's party to return to Rotterdam from which they were to sail to London and then home to Chicago. "They have made it so pleasant for us all, that we are sorry to have them go."

May 16th—they watched the cutting and polishing of diamonds, and Emma Derby gives a careful description of the process: "Polishing diamonds," she says, "is one of the principal trades of Amsterdam." They left Amsterdam for Düsseldorf. "We presently left the great country for wind mills and canals. . . . About this time the trouble was that the train did not wait long enough at any station for Uncle H. to lay in some luncheon. Presently however he rushed into a place, and rushed back, with sandwiches and oranges. . . . And when we counted everything up—oh! we concluded we would make pretty good germans: *three* bottles 'strassburg beer,' two large doughnuts a piece, a large sandwich apiece, and each a german pancake—*only* the same size as a large round platter."

She and her uncle had a hard time trying to remember the name of their hotel at Düsseldorf—"Breiden Bacher Hof"—to tell the driver of their cab from the station. Each thought the other knew. "But Uncle H. got through it splendidly, I nearly killing myself laughing.

"May 17th, Friday. Today we intend going to Cologne after seeing Düsseldorf. Düsseldorf is where my Derby cousins, Frank and Nellie, lived and went to school so long. I wish they were here now so that I could call and see them.

"Cologne. [The same day]. . . . Aunt and Uncle have a beautiful large room, with three windows opening into a balcony which overlooks the Rhine. . . . Uncle Hubert and I have taken a short walk (the streets are without exaggeration very filthy) and had a smell of the Cologne water at one of the principal manufacturers.

"But to return to Düsseldorf. . . . after our bread and butter and coffee, we walked a few steps to the 'Exhibition of Tableaux.' It is from here that Uncle Henry purchases pictures. The young man who showed us the pictures knew him, so did our landlord at the 'Breiden Bacher Hof.' I recognized an old friend in this gallery, 'Desdemona and Othello.' It has been in the Düsseldorf gallery in New York. . . . We went to two or three other places where the pictures were for sale also, but they were too expensive, I believe. Then we drove to the 'Club Rooms' and walked in the garden where, as our guide-book says, walked Goethe and Schiller, before us. . . . From there we drove about town. The finest houses are like those on 22d and 23d streets in New York city only not so high. . . . I think when the weather 'clears up' it will be warmer, and we shall enjoy our trip ever so much, as I am doing now, all the time.

"We dined at quarter after one — the first time we have had a noon dinner since being in Europe. It was very good — so was our bottle of champagne with extra glasses on a silver waiter. . . . We left Düsseldorf in the eight o'clock evening train. Since the second class cars here are as good as the first in other countries, they made a great 'to do' in putting on an extra car for us (as we were first class) because the other cars were full. The people generally go second class, because they are quite as good as the ordinary first class. . . .

"May 18th Saturday. [She describes Cologne cathedral] . . . at last [we] took a carriage and drove home to the 'Hotel Hollande.' First however in the course of the morning having bought some of the best, the real cologne water. . . .

"While we were out walking Uncle Hubert did a queer thing. A poor woman came up to him begging — holding out her hand and whining in the most piteous tone. Instead of putting any thing into it, Uncle H. held out his hand — begging of *her*. She took it as a good joke and, opening her other hand which held three little coppers, she put them into his hand. He thanked her and walked on, while she turned off in the opposite direction, and the last I saw of her she was looking back and laughing."

At the Hotel Hollande was a Mr. Moore, a friend of her aunt and uncle "who formerly boarded at Madame Briones."

At four o'clock they took a Rhine steamer, the "Elberfeld," for Bonn.

They reached it at 8 P.M. and went to the "Rheineck" on the bank of the river; they had tea and went for "a short walk about town and into a beautiful garden which was full of horse-chestnut trees hanging full of blossoms." She describes the moonlight, and the white curtains on the hotel's featherbeds, "covered with silk and crochet work, in place of comforters."

Sunday, May 19th, was a "perfect day"; they could see the passengers waltzing on the deck of a new Rhine steamer "in a very furious manner." In the afternoon they started off to see the town (Bonn). Mrs. Bancroft stayed on the tree-lined avenue leading to the castle, while Mr. Bancroft and his niece walked up to a church on the summit of a hill. In it was a staircase up which penitents climbed on their knees. "At the foot of the hill," she says, "we stepped into a church where all the people were singing together, which is not usual in this country." She disliked the cobblestones on the streets of Bonn and found the town "very dirty."

May 20, 1867 ". . . At dinner today, 'Hotel du Geant,' Coblentz [Prussia], there were several prussian officers. One (the colonel), a very fine looking man, and very dignified, sat next to Aunt Emily. When he rose to leave the table all the others stood until he left the room. The germans, or prussians, make a great noise at table, all chattering at once. An englishman would doubtless be shocked."

She describes the Rhine countryside and the castles. "As I expected," she says, "I find the Rhine no prettier than the Hudson. Hardly as pretty, and I had much rather live on the Hudson, than on the Rhine." They took a drive up a hill and saw "soldiers* working and all the way up they were either shooting at a target, drilling or fife-playing." Forts were passed, also. Coblentz, at the confluence of the Moselle with the Rhine, she finds, "in point of scenery . . . the finest, handsomest city on the Rhine. Tomorrow, at 6 A.M., we proceed up the Rhine. . . .

"Frankfort on the Main, May 21, 1867. We are now in Germany for the first time. And I have been reading german history on the Rhine – it makes it very interesting (both the Rhine and the history). I have just commenced it (and I am indebted to Uncle H. for giving me the book and telling me to read it). As I was reading of the death of 'Louis the Pious' on an island in the Rhine in 840, when at the very moment we passed the island. And as I read about Charlemagne's favorite residence being on the Rhine, we approached that also. . . ." They reached Mayence about one o'clock, and proceeded by rail to Frankfurt (Hotel de Russie); they drove about the town; saw Goethe's house (birthplace); and monuments to Schiller, Gutenberg, etc.; also Rothschild's house. She speaks of the beautiful houses and gardens in Frankfurt, and gives bits of history about the place. As for Mrs. Bancroft, "Aunt Emily," says her niece, "is half asleep on the sofa, while Uncle H. is trying to make out whether she cares to go to Homburg tomorrow or not." They didn't go; it was a fashionable watering-place but the trip took too long – "a whole day or two, and Uncle H. thought he could not afford the time."

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*Bancroft's entry for May 20, 1867 (p. 214), runs as follows: "The Prussian army seems to be in quite an efficient condition. They carry the needle gun [Dreyse rifle, a single-shot breech-loading rifle] about – very common. If this world was not given to fighting, the occupation of the Othelos of this country would be gone indeed."

The next morning they were off at 8 A.M. for Heidelberg. She describes the scenery and the view of the Neckar River. They reached Heidelberg in three hours. There they found the great castle and its history of much interest. "The room where they roasted the *whole* ox has an immense chimney – large enough for several stories of rooms." There was also the winecellar, which contained 800 hogshead. Her uncle gave her a picture of the castle. She says that the university contained 800 pupils and she makes a little sketch of one of the students' diminutive caps.

"We went into the church here [Heidelberg] – one half of which is used by the protestants, and the other end by roman catholics. Finally we went to get a glass of beer at a 'café.' . . . We finished with coffee – then walked a little about town – when Uncle bought a pretty [illegible] skin mat. Tomorrow for Nuremberg.

"Nuremberg, May 23d, '67. Hotel Bayerischer Hof. We left Heidelberg at nine this morning. . . . After writing my journal last evening, Uncle Hube and I went down into the street or court, before our hotel to see what was going on among the numerous wagons and tents which were lit up down there. It seemed to be a sort of a fair. . . . We paid 6 groschen a piece and went into the first lit tent which presented itself. There was a coal mine inside. Very well represented, with the little miners as busy – all worked by a steam engine. There were two other tents where the people shot at figures with a cork-gun, sometimes hitting and breaking the clay pipes spread over the walls for the purpose. 'It is strange how easily some people can be amused,' Uncle H. remarked.

"We have been on the cars all day today – occasionally alighting for a glass of beer etc. And once Uncle H. brought three hot sausage into the car. Aunt Em utterly refused to eat hers – so we had to eat it between us, with some bread we had.

"I have been reading History of Germany all day, while Aunt Em and Uncle H. took turns reading Students, [illegible] History of England. He has told her he would make her a present if she would read those two books. I am to read History of England when I have read the other.

"May 24th, Friday. Aunt Em and I have enjoyed ourselves very much this cold rainy morning, staying at home, while Uncle H. has been off with his guide to the different lead-pencil manufactories about here.

"Fabers lead-pencils, also Eagles are made very near here. Aunt Emily has been taking off a pattern of crocheting, while I have written a long letter to both Mamma and Katie. This is a very old quaint city. . . . After our dinner, as Uncle H. had finished with the guide, he being engaged for the day he took me to visit some very old churches — . . . Then we went through the Hotel de Ville, which has some very odd paintings — some are beautifully done. Then we took a carriage, and drove to 'The Castle.' . . . I struck a chord on the open piano, expecting every minute the guides would 'fly at me,' as Aunt Emily would say. . . . And now I am writing in my room — and thinking I should like to see Mamma tonight, though I am not a bit homesick, and am enjoying myself ever so much. . . .

"May 25th [after breakfast] . . . we got into a very nice two-horse carriage, with a 'dressed-up' coachman and our former guide, and started for Stein. The ride was quite pleasant, though a little cold.

"At Stein we drove up to the establishment of 'A. W. Faber,' who everyone knows makes lead-pencils. His son young Faber who speaks very good english for one that never practices it, and who will probably succeed his father in business, showed us the whole process of making pencils. . . . They have five hundred workmen — which comprises the whole village. . . . [They went by train from Stein to Gotha — from 11 A.M. till 8 P.M.] Aunt Emily had a sick headache and slept most of the time, while Uncle H. and I read history. I am reading my history in just the right time and place. We passed through Eisenach, changed cars there, just as I had read that in the castle which we saw above the village, Luther was confined, not by his enemies but his friends [they concealed him ten months]. . . . I think Uncle H. came to Gotha for some business purpose. It is a very pretty place and together with Coburg forms the capital of Saxony."

Sabbath, May 26th. It was cold the night before; they had a fire and tea "in the parlor which opens from my Uncle's bedroom. So it was this morning with coffee." They went for a walk as there was no English church; the sunshine was pleasant; they heard some boy sopranos singing opposite their hotel. ". . . they sang beautifully. I think the chords were perfect. And some of the boys sang much better soprano than the boys we hear in Episcopal churches. . . . We do not see a person we know, and in this town have not seen an American, or even an Englishman. Uncle H. says tomorrow he will take us to Leipsic — where we will remain some days, and rest, while he attends to some book business.* Leipsic is the greatest place in Germany for books.

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*On May 28, 1867, at Leipsic, Bancroft wrote in his "Journal" (pp. 223-24): "I called upon Tauchnitz, the great publisher of books in English. He has about 1000 vols. published at ½ thalen 37½ cents which he sells to export at ½ off 18¾ cents. Went over the establishment of Brockhaus, very large, makes his own type. . . ." Bancroft sums up Leipsic thus: "The place runs to books. Every body is books. . . . After buying everything I could find in the shape of books on California, etc., driving about the town occasionally, seeing and doing Leipsic, we set sail in a railway car for Berlin. . . ."

"Leipsic, 27th of May. Monday . . . We reached here just at the dinner-hour. They were having a military dinner in the next room to ours. The band was above both of us — and the music was 'worth more than the price of the dinner,' as Uncle H. said. I recognized several airs. 'Trumpettes du Regiment' among others. We two took a walk afterwards while Uncle H. went off on business." A description of the city follows.

28th May. A commander-in-chief was staying at their hotel; sentry-box and a guard below their windows. "We drove out after breakfast about town, then to the largest publishing house here, where we saw them make type-print, and sew the books together. . . . I bought a feather for my turban — besides that we each had a splendid cup of chocolat at a 'Café-Français.' We rested and read this afternoon with our windows open, quite enjoying it. A university student opposite did stare so into our rooms, that I took a paper and pencil and pretended to *draw* him, which soon sent him to find his green cap — and off he went.

"We patronized the 'Café' again this afternoon, taking an ice-cream — which was quite good for Europe. After tea we all had a drive in their park — which consists of a grove of trees and underbrush, with roads cut through it. It was so wild and like the country, we quite enjoyed our drive.

"And now we three are about the round table in my Aunt's room, each with a jug of beer, Uncle H. and I writing, and Aunt Emily crocheting. Tomorrow we start for Berlin, stopping at Wittenberg, I believe. Uncle H. has given up going to St. Petersburg, which he has seriously thought of, as we have scarcely the time.

"May 29th, Wednesday. Berlin, 'Grand Hotel de Rome.' At twelve o'clock, Uncle H. having done as much business in Leipsic as he cared to, we started for Berlin. First however we selected a very pretty ivory-handled cane for Uncle H. which is to be a present from me. . . . The country between Leipsic and Berlin, like nearly all of the country of Germany, reminds me, as Uncle H. says it does him, of Ohio. Beautiful green woods and fields — hills, and sometimes a little water.

"Wittenberg is on the road between these two places, and we stopped here to see where Luther had lived. . . ." They met a young German from Detroit — a resident there 14 years — who was in Germany on a visit; he acted as interpreter for the woman who kept a postcard ('views') place and who couldn't speak English. A little old woman acted as their guide. They saw the house where Melanchthon lived; also the building in which Luther and his family made their home and where he taught philosophy. They saw his "shining black stove," reaching almost to the ceiling; and his chair — "very old looking," she says, "and close to the window. Uncle H. cut off a splinter for me, while the guide was not looking, which is a very precious relic, as they do not allow people such things in this country. The window had the same glass in it that they used. The panes are small circles. . . ." Peter the Great visited Luther's room, she tells us, and wrote his name with chalk over the door; it is now covered with glass. They saw the bronze door, replacing the one on which Luther posted his theses. But, on the whole, she found "Wittenberg one of the dullest, most stupid places we have seen. There is not a carriage in the town." She mentions having seen the oak which grew on the spot where Luther burnt the papal bull.* By ten P.M. they were in Berlin.

Berlin, May 30th. They took a guide to see the royal palaces; the men in the party had to put on felt moccasins to avoid hurting the floors; the weather was hot. "We went to the Crown Prince's palace. He married Queen Victoria's eldest daughter. They are in Paris now . . . We struck her piano, which has a very sweet tone. Then to the King's palace 'William 1st.' He had just left it—we saw him drive off with the Emperor of Russia." They visited the King's rooms, ". . . quantities of beautiful paintings. Also portraits of his son Frederick William the Crown Prince, his wife. . . .

"While out the guide took us to the opera, where Uncle H. took a box for the evening, to hear the opera of 'Fidello.' We thought the king would certainly be there too.

"Our dinner was at three and by gas-light, as the room has scarcely any windows. We were there an hour and a half—had ice-cream, etc." They took a drive; and found Charlottesburg pretty.

"The opera commenced very early. They had commenced when we reached there. . . . The lights were brilliant in the royal box, which was still empty. At the end of the second act, we intended to go out a moment, for a little recreation, as all the others did. But not only did *everyone* rise to go—but they put out the lights. We could not believe it was over, as it was not nine yet. Uncle H. asked a man in the hall, 'Is that all?' ('Est-ce tout?') 'Jah! Jah!' the man said. . . . But it is worth something to see a specimen of a dutch opera, as Uncle H. said."

Friday, May 31st. They walked about the town. "Saw some very pretty shops—the carved wood furniture in one place was beautiful and they had quantities, rooms and rooms full of it. In another place they sold paintings." They saw a picture—just in from the artist's studio—of Luther and his family, and Melanchthon on one side of a table. They went to the Royal Museum; saw pictures by Rubens, Raphael, etc. They saw Unter den Linden and the Brandenburg Gate. They went also to a military concert—one band in the open air, and one in a hall with glass roof, flowers, galleries. The king arrived and sat in the royal box in the gallery; he then walked with his aides among the people. "They passed very near us and he looked right at me and bowed, before I bowed to him! Of course I think a great deal of him now! (Think he is a 'gentleman and a scholar')"

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*Bancroft has this to say of their visit ("Journal," Wittenberg, May 29, 1867, p. 224): "We saw where Luther lived, sat, wrote, read, contemplated, drank beer, played with his children, thundered from the pulpit, slept, nailed his demonstrations etc. . . ."

Saturday, 1st of June. She slept late and breakfasted alone. "My Uncle and Aunt went off shopping. They bought some pretty little dessert china plates with fruit painted on them. At noon we started for Potsdam without a guide. Saw summer residence of the king – glass doors and windows, flowers, and plants all over the house were perfectly lovely. . . ." The driver took them to a restaurant; tables under a thatched roof – out of doors. ". . . it was lovely there. The birds sang, the sun shone – and we were hungry and our dinner tasted good."

They saw the New Palace at Potsdam; the inside she found very handsome – "the finest palace we have seen." She describes the room where shells and rocks (she names many of them) were displayed on shelves. "The other rooms," she says, "are large and magnificent." The curtains, the upholstery (silk damask, $50 a yard) had been clawed by the king's (Frederick the Great's – 'Old Fritz') dogs. The king called himself "The Philosopher at Sans Souci." Sans Souci all on ground floor; terraces and steps leading up to it. She liked it (more like nature) better than Versailles, which she found too precise. "We are having oh! one elegant time here in Berlin. After our return in the evening, Aunt Emily bought some Berlin wool work. The chair pattern was very pretty.

"Sabbath, 2d of June . . . We went to a german protestant church to hear the singing, and were put into a seat, so we could not get out without making a disturbance. Uncle H. wished to take us to an english service – so it was too bad. . . . Tomorrow at five in the morning we intend leaving Berlin for Dresden.

"Dresden, June 3d. The fresh morning air was fine from four to nine this morning, but since then we have almost suffered with the heat. We spent the hours between seven and twelve on the railroad between Berlin and Dresden. After reaching the latter place we went first of all to the lion of the place, the 'picture gallery.' The paintings of Raphael, Rubens, Corregio, Titian, Van Dyk, and many others are scattered about in elaborate confusion. The gem of the gallery placed in a room by itself is the 'Madonna di Sisto' by Raphael. It is beautiful. . . . Our hotel Bellevue is very prettily situated on the river Elbe, which, just here, reminds us very much of the Rhine."

Tuesday, June 4th. After spending some time in a Dresden china shop, they went to see "the green vaults." "They are situated in the basement of the Palace. They contain beautiful treasures. Bronzes, carvings – trinkets full of jewels – and such quantities of diamonds. Diamond buttons, shoe buckles . . . sword handle – all have belonged to 'Augustus the Strong. " They saw Mr. & Mrs. Letchworth; they had an apartment, and she was taking German, music, and drawing lessons; he, French lessons. The Bancroft party visited "all the picture gallerys or studios in town. Uncle H. bought the little angels in Raphael's Madonna, but could not be suited in another, although he wished to buy another.

"June 5th. Wednesday. We had our photographs taken in a group this morning, then I had mine taken alone for $2.12½ our money. For a dozen vignettes, I think that is quite cheap. Then we drove to an establishment where they make musical instruments to play themselves—by means of wind. Some resemble full bands—and very fine indeed. The price for the largest is only $20,000. We also saw 'Zwinger' which was built by Augustus the Strong, merely for the entrance to a large palace—which was never built . . ." (Zwinger means an enclosure for wild beasts). They saw many Americans at their Dresden hotel. "See them only at 'Table d'Hôte' (where by the way we have ice-cream every day). It would be pleasant to join some young people traveling I think."

June 6th, Thursday. Prague, Hotel d'Angleterre—"Do not think much of it," she says. They spent nearly all the day on the Elbe; left Dresden at 6 A.M. on a small steamer—"such as would hardly be a respectable ferryboat at home." Dresden is in Saxony; Prague in Bohemia, she tells her readers, and makes some comments on Bohemia's politics. She liked the scenery along the Elbe; also the early strawberries; saw quarries from the steamer; and she speaks of the babies tied up in pillow-cases, except head and arms, so "they can't kick." The railroad ride to Prague was dusty, and so was the city, but they had "a nice refreshing glass of beer" when they reached it. "Aunt Em has kept her bed all day." The diarist and her uncle drove through the town, which is built on a plain on both sides of the Moldau River; long bridges—one 1800 feet long, with 28 old stone statues; a statue of St. John, patron saint of bridges. "Uncle H. bought two small paintings. And I bought a bohemian garnet ring, also earrings to match my pin. So now surely I shall have to have my ears pierced. The bohemian glass ware is beautiful but rather expensive. Then after returning home and taking a bottle of beer between us we went off again." They went to see the college, and saw the pulpit from which John Huss (1369-1415; a religious reformer and a native of Prague) preached. In this church, she tells us, Tycho Brahe (1546-1601; Danish astronomer) is buried.

Friday night, the start was made for Vienna—an all-night ride.

"June 8, Saturday. Uncle H. held Aunt Emily's head all night, so that he did not sleep much while she did." It rained during the night. By four A.M. they could see the Danube. They reached Vienna around 7 A.M., and strolled about the streets, looking at shops, with no guide. Their hotel, the Archduke Charles, was in a narrow street. Her room's only window looked out on a gallery that ran around the court, and people were continually passing. "Uncle Hubert was good enough to give me his bed, and sleep here, as it seemed so public." No table d'hôte at the hotel. Many Americans were there. "Indeed we shall meet more and more of them as we proceed into Switzerland. I wish I could get acquainted with some of them.

"Sunday, June 9th. [Vienna] We all slept very soundly last night, and breakfasted not before 10 A.M. We found the English Church which is held in the house of the English Ambassador."

Monday, 10th. The weather was cool; they went sight-seeing — churches, with a guide; Canova statues "most beautiful," she thought; saw tombs of the great; also saw private picture galleries. ". . . We received letters today. Uncle H. thinks of asking Mamma to meet us with Katie at Rochester. I think it will be much better for the child — to meet her parents with few lookers-on, as she is so excitable.

"After our dinner about six, we seated ourselves in a very nice carriage, and drove out in it to a garden out in the country. There were a great many people circulating when we arrived. A small theater was in progress. . . . When the curtain dropped, a military band in a spot a little removed from the theater struck up. The music was very good. And the piece they played, our courier says, he can get for me arranged for the piano. I have heard it several times in Germany, and I like it, it is so spirited.

"This day is a religious holiday. The people go to church in the morning and to 'gardens' in the evening. It is also their way of spending every sabbath.

"But this last band that played — I never heard such music. It was the celebrated 'Strauss' band. The father is dead, and the 3 sons are composers, and lead their father's band in their own compositions.

"The eldest was not there as he is the 'Imperial band master,' and is not allowed to show himself in public. The next son is tall and thin — wears long hair and a long face. His music is soft and beautiful, and seems very popular. But the youngest brother is my admiration. His music is of the spirited kind. It's nearly all dance music. He often leads off in his father's pieces which are of this style. 'Strauss waltzes' are celebrated all over America. This youngest, Edouard Strauss, steps up into his place, promptly, and beats for the band with so much energy, that he can hardly stand still. He has a fiddle which he plays — the men keeping time with him. He is so handsome and so straight, his music is so exhilerating, and he is withal so proud and haughty that he is perfectly fascinating. . . .

"Tuesday, June 11th, Vienna. We have had a carriage all day, and our guide. They have very nice two-horse carriages in Vienna. . . . While we were dressing, Aunt Emily said that something was going to happen that was splendid today.

"And afterwards Uncle H. told me that this was a long way from my home — and that for a long time perhaps never would I come so far off.

(This is the greatest distance from home that we go, from here we are approaching home), and that he had bought a present for me here! Then afterwards while we were driving we stopped at a jewellers (the same place I had seen my Aunt & Uncle enter last Saturday night, while I, like Miriam [Moses' sister; Exodus 2:4], stood afar off). Then Uncle H. having gone in returned with a little case, saying that *that* was my present.

"It was the prettiest little gold watch I have ever seen. It has a hunting case, but is doubleface, so that I do not have to open it to see the time. Within is marked 'Emma C. Derby Vienna 1867.' . . . I never have raised my expectations up to a watch, and can hardly realize it now. . . ." Here follow descriptions of palaces they saw – polished floors, silk damask upholstery, curtains, etc. "The Prince's sitting room contains a piano (with some sheets of first-class music on it which I turned over). . . . We spent this evening also in a drive on the 'Prater' and in a garden. I am getting very fond of these gardens. . . .

"June 12th, Vienna. We have walked about, looking at shops – and driving. I purchased some of the Strauss music. And a russian leather card case (Vienna is *the* place for russian leather). . . .

"Last but not least, after dinner we went to the 'Volksgarten' to hear a concert given by Strauss' band. It was out of doors as the others are. I enjoyed it so much. . . . We did not see the Emperor of Austria, as he was at Pesth, attending to his coronation as King of Hungary. Tomorrow we ride all day to Munich. . . .

"Munich, Hotel Bayerischer Hof, June 13th. We had a very comfortable day on the cars, although in the afternoon it was very warm, and there was but one empty seat in our car. . . . I 'read up' in Harper's guide all about Munich, etc. And then commenced on the 'Modern History of Europe.' We dined 'Table d'hôte' at one of the stations, the conductor having telegraphed on that we would do so. I can not say much for the dinner. . . ." The scenery along the way she considered "the most beautiful" she had ever passed through.

"We were not very prepossessed, at our arrival, with this hotel. They gave us rooms in the highest story, and as it was late at night the stairs were not very clean. We came from the depot in the *longest* omnibus I have ever seen. There were sufficiently wide seats marked off for eighteen persons."

Friday, June 14th. Their guide told them that their hotel was " 'the first in Munich.' . . . It rained fast, but we visited the Sculpture, and Old Painting galleries. The old Dusseldorf gallery and others are here. There were many Rubens and some were very fine. . . . Then to an exposition and sale of modern paintings, which are very beautiful and very expensive – especially those on porcelain.

"We had read in our guide book about the Royal Brewery – how five-hundred persons were often there at one time, drinking. And as the beer was of the finest in the world, and could not be procured *without* the Brewery, of course we wished to go there." They were disappointed, as the people were of the lowest kind "and so were the ceilings." The rooms were full of smoke; and the wooden benches and tables were dirty. "It is said that they cook four beefs here in a day and eight muttons – consume hundreds of florins (40 cts) of bread, and I do not know how many *hogshead* of beer. Three or four thousand different people come here in the course of one day." The Bancroft party drank their beer "out of tumblers, the rest drink out of jugs holding a quart, 7 or 8 jugs of it a day. Only 4 kreutzer (2 cents) a jug. One thing is certain – we will not care to go there again – and only last night Aunt Emily was so sorry that we did not stop at some other hotel, 'Les Quartres Saisons," near to the Brewery, so that we would have one consolation convenient – beer.

"We visited several artists' studios. Uncle H. bought 'The First Snow' original size, a very famous picture in the 'New Gallery' here. Also visited some jewelry shops. I bought an amethyst ring for 6 florins. Gold chains, Aunt E. thinks, are cheaper here than in Geneva. I think I shall execute Mamma's order, in getting one, here." They visited the Old Palace and the New Palace, connected under the same roof. In the Old Palace she noted Charlemagne's bed curtains, which had been worked by hand with gold thread. King Ludwig II (grandson of Ludwig I) was to marry his cousin, Duchess Sophie of Bavaria, sister of the Empress of Austria, in two months; his picture was everywhere. The betrothal was dissolved in October of that year. "I should like so much to see them," she says. "I am told they walk out, as it is not the fashion to drive. . . .

"We went to a 'Café' for beer and music in the eve., but oh! it was such a 'come-down' from night before last. The musicians seemed all dead – after Strauss' band.

"June 15th, Saturday. Raining still. Our carriage we kept a long time. The 'New Picture Gallery' is very fine. The paintings are modern. Uncle H. is employing an artist to copy several for him, from the originals. I exchanged the amethyst for a much handsomer one for 12 florins. Also Uncle H. bought a handsome short (that is to hang from the breast-pin to the watch) gold chain for 26 florins – $12 or $13 gold. . . ."

That evening, she couldn't make the maid understand about a bath, and she herself didn't care to go down four pairs of stairs to make arrangements. "As Uncle H. told me, it is a 'slight defect in my character,' that I am too yielding in not always accomplishing what I set out to do.

"June 16th, Sunday. Our sabbaths do not amount to much, as Uncle H. says – while traveling. We went to church, as we always do when we can find one. . . . There are several Bostonians at our hotel – and some thoroughly english persons (it is very amusing to hear them talk) also french and german. . . .

"June 17, Monday. Raining again. I do not see as we will know how Munich looks in a pleasant day. . . ." Their courier had been butler to Lord John Russell when Russell was British ambassador to St. Petersburg. ". . . We drove to the museum of Schwanthaler — one of the greatest sculptors in the world (our courier says *the* greatest)." They saw workmen chiseling statues out of marble blocks, from plaster images. "They measured by compasses. It was very interesting. Uncle H. purchased several compositions, comic pieces — cats — and foxes." They saw the immense bronze statue of Bavaria — a woman with a laurel wreath in one hand and the other resting on a lion crouching at her feet. It was done by the present Schwanthaler's father, now deceased. The statue was 100 ft. high. The diarist attempted ascent, inside-staircase, while the others waited below. There were said to be seats for 8 inside the head. She got view of it but then went down because men on stairway were unpleasant and the guide spoke no English. "Aunt Emily said she would not have gone up either, and that it was too bad. Uncle Hubert said that I did not accomplish what I went up for, but that it was 'all right.' . . . We took luncheon at the 'Café' again, and looked at the opera glasses, which are near there. I would have gotten a very pretty one, half ivory, for seven dollars, if Uncle H. had advised it, but he said wait until we reached Paris.

"Uncle H. ordered eight more paintings from the originals in the new gallery here. Two men are to paint them, the only two who are allowed to copy from the original.

"Soon after we had returned home again, it rained very hard. But after it had abated a little, the guide at my request went out with me, and I bought more of Strauss' music. I could not get all I wanted and will have to make another attempt in London. . . . I purchased two of their waltzes, one was a duet — and one of their quadrilles (a duet), also a quadrille (a duet) by Ziehrer, and a duet from the opera 'Robert Le Diable' by Meyerbeer. . . . And now it is candlelight, and I must pack my trunk. We are going to Switzerland tomorrow. . . ."

Zurich, Tuesday, June 18th. They left Munich at 6 A.M.; reached Lake of Constance at noon; took steamer across, and then a train. Their seats were in a car made American fashion — only it was not as long. There were perhaps three double seats on a side. The windows were open, ". . . It was like a free country (as it is) therefore like america. At four we reached Zurich. . . . It is perfectly lovely here at the 'Baur au Lac.' . . ." She describes the lake, mountains, snow on them, etc.

"We had a drive, and noticed that the streets were trimmed up with flowers and evergreens, and the houses also — while the girls were dressed up in white. They all congregated in one spot where our driver said there was to be music. We learned afterwards that this was a singing match held here for several days. They are held somewhere in Switzerland once a year, when the best singer gets a prize.

"Lucerne, 'Hotel Schwarzenhof,' Wednesday, June 19 . . . We left Zurich for Lucerne at two P.M., reaching the latter place by four. We went by railroad having a delightful ride. . . . In the cars it was neither too warm nor too cold, and Uncle H. said that this was the first time since he had been in Europe that he did not care to leave the cars."

They saw Mr. and Mrs. Foster in the dining-room; also saw Mr. and Mrs. Small of Chicago, with whom they went sight-seeing: the Lion of Lucerne, cut out of rock at side of a mountain, the lion with a broken spear in his side. ". . . Lucerne," she says, "is the place where William Tell flourished. There is a steamer by his name on the lake." They are to go to Interlaken next morning by carriage; the Fosters and Smalls to drive in another.

Thursday the 20th June '67. Cloudy and rainy ". . . we did not start off at eight as we intended, as we waited to see a catholic procession.

"Uncle H. says he has not seen before such a 'catholic demonstration' in Europe, as here in Switzerland, which is *mostly* protestant. It seems it is the 18 hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter. . . . At last, at nine o'clock we were off. . . . At one place a little girl ran up to the carriage and sold us her plate of cherries. . . . At two we stopped for rest and dinner which was quite good for being so far away." It was a 50-mile drive, and there was much rain, but they enjoyed the views of the lakes, waterfalls, Swiss cottages, etc. Hotel Victoria at Interlaken was reached at 8 P.M. "We have front rooms here, which look off on the mountains. The principal one from this point is the 'Jungfrau' or 'Young Woman,' which is 12,800 ft. high, and eternally covered with snow. I can see a glacier. . . . This *young woman* reminds me of the way unmarried females proclaim it to the world, in this part of the country. We saw plenty of them on our drive today. They braid their hair in with a piece of white cloth or ribbon and pin it up with a long pin. It is really quite pretty. This is a fine hotel. . . .

"Interlaken, June 21, Friday . . . Uncle Hubert and I breakfasted without my Aunt, leaving her sick on the sofa. Though soon after she went down to her breakfast and we went out to walk . . . The fancy shops here mostly contain wood-carving. . . . Uncle H. spent fifty dollars on it this morning, buying a cuckoo clock, and other things for his dining-room." She bought ink-stand and carved penholder for her Uncle Albert Bancroft.

The diarist gives the location of Interlaken; viz., between lakes Brienz and Thun; she quotes the guide-book that Interlaken is "'composed chiefly of Hotels and white-washed boarding houses,'" also shops of fancy articles — the "'concomitants of all watering places.' I do not believe we will stop again at such a quiet country-like beautiful place. For the very reason that it is so quiet, Uncle H. had rather leave the place as soon as possible. So we will probably leave here tomorrow." She describes a little donkey, which had a lady on his back, her dress being tucked up under her; and she was holding an umbrella. "I thought I should not care to climb a mountain in that way. . . . P. S. We had iced champagne for dinner and Uncle H. said that I might consider myself treated. Aunt E. was not well enough to come down. I spent the evening with Mr. & Mrs. Foster, and Mr. & Mrs. Small. Mrs. S. asked me if I was a relative of the former Mr. Derby of Buffalo, in the book-business. Said that his firm *years ago* (though he looks quite young) did business with that firm.

"Bern, Schweizerhof, June 22d, Saturday. I do not like Bern at all. The journey here was very pleasant. The omnibus from the Hotel Victoria took us on a pretty country road between farm houses and cherry trees – which little bare-footed children were stripping of their fruit – to the small but comfortable steamer on the lake of Thun.

"Before starting off however this morning, we had quite a discussion, as to whether we would join the rest of our party in going to a glacier a few miles off on the Jungfrau. I think if my aunt had been well enough we would have gone, but as we could not go on her account and as Uncle H. became very tired of Interlaken and the mountains that shut us up there, we started for Bern." She describes the changing colors on the Lake of Thun. "At Thun we took the railroad cars. . . . Our hotel is just opposite the dépôt." There was much rain; after shower was over, they "walked the whole length of the principal street, except my Aunt who was feeling sick was sent home in a cab. Upper stories of houses overreach the sidewalk, and the people walk under them. They have a very close musty smell." She speaks of bears on tops of fountains, "an animal held in great reverence by the Bernese. I bought one of wood . . . to hold lamp-lighters and matches.

"After our five o'clock table d'hôte we had another walk on the hill among the swiss farm houses and their inhabitants.

(To be concluded)

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

Sustaining

Name	Address	Proposed by
Mrs. Thomas Schnoor	Piedmont	Warren R. Howell
	Active	
Alpena Community College	Alpena, Mich.	Membership Committee
Peter Avenali	San Francisco	E. Morris Cox
A. D. Bell, Jr.	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
E. Harry Beltzig	Columbia, Mo.	Resuming membership
Harry C. Blair, M.D.	Portland, Ore.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Olive C. Boyle	Santa Cruz	Membership Committee
Mrs. Hazel Geary Burns	Oakland	Membership Committee
Henry E. Butler	Berkeley	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. George C. Deckard	Berkeley	Craig Owens
Charles Donlon	Hermosa Beach	Membership Committee
Fabius T. Finch	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Warren Gregory	San Francisco	Donald M. Gregory
Mrs. Irvine Grove	Eagleville	Ralph H. Cross
Herman F. Hahn	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
F. Bourn Hayne	Kentfield	Francis P. Farquhar
Harold D. Huycke	Mill Valley	Membership Committee
Julius Klein	Washington, D. C.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Oliver Stuart Loud	Berkeley	Hobart M. Lovett
A. B. McKee, Jr.	Los Angeles	A. W. Hooper
C. Standlee Martin	Long Beach	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Marjorie P. Mendelsohn	Saratoga	Edgar M. Kahn
Mrs. Marion Montague	San Francisco	James Abajian
Curtis Hooper O'Sullivan	Napa	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Bert A. Ravera	Danville	Warren R. Howell
Garwood Simons	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Ray Slanker	Roseville	Ralph H. Cross
Mrs. Ellen Spagnoli	San Leandro	Mrs. Inez Malsbary and J. R. Knowland
Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Spruyt	Greenfield, Mass.	Transfer of Mrs. Antoinette Naglee Burk's membership
Cecil G. Tilton	Berkeley	Aubrey Drury
Barry Whitehead	San Francisco	Miss Caroline Wenzel

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins

Julia Stamper Berman
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Eva M. Koch
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to December 1, 1952

Because of the increased number of gifts received by the Society's library and museum, it is now practicable to describe in detail but a few of the more significant collections or individual items presented to the Society:

Cabaniss-Chandler-Sorbier Collections

Mr. George H. Cabaniss, Jr., son of the distinguished San Francisco Superior Court Judge, has presented photographs, manuscripts, and pamphlets pertaining to the Cabaniss and Duncan families in California, and to Sarah Elizabeth Chandler, Carmel artist. Through Mr. Cabaniss and Mr. Frederic Morris, the Society has become the depository of the papers and memorabilia of Mme. Louise Bacon Sorbier (1847-1929) and of her daughter, Cecile M. Sorbier (1874-1952). Illustrative of the diversity of the collection is the presence of correspondence from Archbishops Joseph S. Alemany and George Montgomery, 1879-1900; the *Minutes* of the San Francisco Arguello Boulevard Improvement Club, 1909-27; and items illustrating the formative years of the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum.

John M. Duke Papers

John M. Duke, San Francisco, acted as secretary of Charles Webb Howard and of several mining companies. A selection of Duke's papers, 1877-1914, has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Marva Woodbury, Sausalito. Included are a correspondence between Mr. Howard and Andrew Onderdonk, New York City, 1900-04; small quantities of business papers of the Natoma Vineyard Company, the North and South Fork Gold Mining Companies, and other California mining enterprises; and more than 50 photographs of the Duke, Hicklin, and Huram Miller families.

Turner Family Papers

For several years, Miss Emily L. Turner, Berkeley, has been a constant friend of the

Society, being on the watch for book and pamphlet titles lacking from our library. In addition to her previous contributions, Miss Turner has presented some 60 photographs and manuscripts, 1865-1952, and genealogical information, all pertaining to the family of Gustavus James Turner (1839-1917), Sacramento. Included are letters of Mark Hanna and George C. Perkins and a photograph of Hiram Johnson.

Pastel Drawing: "Union and Pierce Streets"

A pioneer nurseryman in San Francisco, Charles Abraham operated the Western Nursery in the Marina District and a flower shop in the old California Market. In return for a favor, an unknown, fellow German immigrant presented to Abraham a pastel scene showing his nursery and adjoining properties about 1880. Abraham's great-niece, Mrs. Lillian Heckinger Lawson, the donor of the drawing, has also presented an oil painting signed "Lotta, June 8, '84," and attributed to Lotta Crabtree.

Materials of great interest have also been contributed by many friends in many places:

ALTURAS
- Miss Dorothy V. Gloster

BERKELEY
- Remi Bacigalupi
- Charles L. Camp
- Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
- Francis S. Foote
- Mrs. Harry Gabbert
- Robert F. Heizer
- Miss Chloe Holt
- J. W. Johnson
- Hobart M. Lovett
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- Miss Emily L. Turner

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- Rodney M. Rulofson

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- Mrs. Elma P. Atchison

GRASS VALLEY
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HOLLISTER
- Harry Breen

LOS ANGELES
- Phil Townsend Hanna
- George H. Kress, M.D.
- *Los Angeles Times*

NEVADA CITY
- H. P. Davis

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- Alfred Knight

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- Mrs. Birdena Swingle

REDDING
- Mrs. Helen Hogue

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- Mrs. Milton H. Esberg

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- Andy Rogers

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- L. Burr Belden

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  Don N. Driese
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  Miss Edith Allyne
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  Miss Marjorie B. Anderson
  Mrs. S. W. Beaumont
  James B. Black
  Bullock & Jones Company
  Harold A. Burroughs
  George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
  California Ink Company
  Mrs. James Campbell
  E. G. Chambers
  M. L. Choynski
  The Emporium
  Francis P. Farquhar
  Goodwill Industries of San Francisco
  Miss Aimee Herbert
  Warren R. Howell
  Mrs. James Jenkins
  Edgar M. Kahn
  Miss Florence R. Keene
  Lawton Kennedy, Printer
  Le Roy Krusi
  John F. Landis
  Mrs. Lillian Lawson
  Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
  Elliot McAllister
  J. W. Mailliard, Jr.
  Mrs. Elsa Melville
  Martin Mongan
  Frederic Morris
  J. E. Philpod
  H. A. Sawin
  Sherman, Clay and Company
  Morgan H. Streeter
  Mrs. Edward Robeson Taylor
  Miss Ruth Teiser
  Miss Lottie G. Woods
San Leandro
  Mrs. E. P. Schlichtmann
San Marino
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  Robert C. Wood
Vallejo
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  Fred Meier
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Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Bosqui, Edward. Memoirs of Edward Bosqui. Foreword by Harold C. Holmes & introduction by Henry R. Wagner. Oakland, Holmes Book Company, 1952. xxvii, 180 p. illus., port., plates. $20.00.

Boyd, William Harland. Land of Havilah, 1854-1874; the Story of Keyesville, Hernville; and Havilah, in the Kern River County, California. Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, 1952. 54 p. illus. $2.00.

Camp, Charles Lewis. Earth Song; a Prologue to History. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. 4 p. *l.*, 127 p. illus., maps, tables. $5.00.

Cloud, Archie J. The Stanford Axe. Palo Alto, Pacific Books [c1952] 46 p. illus. $3.50.

Coleman, Charles M. P. G. and E. of California; the Centennial Story of Pacific Gas and Electric Company, 1852-1952. N. Y., McGraw, 1952. x, 385 p. plates. $4.50.

De Frate, Julia Flinn. This Was Yesterday. San Diego, Author, 1952. 26 *l.* [Apply to author, 4019-45th Street, San Diego]

Loomis, C. Grant. The German Theater in San Francisco, 1861-1864. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. (Univ. of California Pub. in Modern Philology, vol. 36, no. 8) 193-242 p. 75 cents.

McEntire, Davis. The Labor Force in California; a Study of Characteristics and Trends in Labor Force, Employment, and Occupations in California, 1900-1950. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. x, 101 p. $2.50.

McSweeney, Thomas Denis. Cathedral on California Street; the Story of St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco, 1854-1891, and of Old St. Mary's, a Paulist Church, 1894-1951. Fresno, Academy of California Church History, 1952. xi, 95 p. illus. $3.00.

Miller, Guy C., ed. Palo Alto Community Book. Palo Alto, Arthur H. Cawston, 1952. 364 p. illus., plates, ports. [Apply to publisher]

Parsons, Marion Randall. Old California Houses; Portraits and Stories. Berkeley, University of California, 1952. 3 p. *l.*, 143 p. illus. $3.75.

Richardson, Margaret Stimson. A Handful of Nuggets. Austin, Texas, Steck Co. [c1952] xiii, 130 p. illus. $2.00.

Rogers, Andrew W. A Hundred Years of Rip and Roarin' Rough and Ready. [n. p.] Author, c1952. 119 p. illus., ports. $3.00. [Apply to Andy Rogers, Rough and Ready]

Unna, Warren. The Coppa Murals; a Pageant of Bohemian Life in San Francisco At the Turn of the Century. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1952. 72 p. illus. $7.50 to members.

Withington, Mary C., comp. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Collection of Western Americana Founded By William Robertson Coe, Yale University Library. New Haven, Yale University, 1952. x, 398 p. port. $10.00.

Wyman, Walker Demarquis. California Emigrant Letters . . . N. Y., Bookman Associates [1952] 177 p. illus., map. $3.00.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

J. N. Bowman's contributions to the QUARTERLY have been appearing over a period of many years. Members of the Society will remember especially his "The Peraltas and Their Houses," in the September 1951 number; when made into a separate pamphlet, it found a ready sale. The present paper formed the basis of an address given last May, during Oakland's centennial celebrations.

Aubrey Drury (Univ. Calif. 1914), a native of Sacramento, has long been a writer on subjects related to the California landscape and its preservation and/or modification by a variety of agents, natural and human. He was a contributor to *The Pacific Coast Ranges*, edited by Roderick Peattie (N. Y.: Vanguard Press, 1946). A more recent book has been *How to Retire to California* (N. Y.: Harper, 1950); while his *California, an Intimate Guide*, is now in its fifth edition. From January 1949 through 1951, Mr. Drury served as president of the California Historical Society.

Evelyn Craig Pattiani is the daughter of Hugh Craig, who, in 1879, purchased a six-acre lupin-and-poppy-covered field, facing Vernal Avenue in Piedmont. Nearly three decades later (1907), Piedmont was incorporated into a city of the sixth class; for the following seven years, Mr. Craig was its mayor. In the meantime, in November 1904, his daughter Evelyn had become the wife of William L. Pattiani of McKesson, Langly and Michaels, wholesale druggists of San Francisco. Mrs. Pattiani has written a history of Piedmont, as yet unpublished, from which the present account of silkworm experimentation is taken.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Jacob Bacon, the father of Edward R. Bacon, came to California in 1852 and opened a printing establishment at 151 Clay Street (see *San Francisco Directory*, 1854). Later, he became associated with Whitton, Towne & Co., proprietors of the Excelsior Printing Office, the name subsequently becoming Towne & Bacon. In the business collection of this Society are Towne & Bacon billheads dated in 1861. Edward R. Bacon, of the construction-equipment firm bearing his name (with main office in Honolulu), was born in 1880 in San Francisco, at the corner of California and Buchanan.

Mrs. Henria Packer Compton (*see* New Members, September QUARTERLY) is the daughter of Henry Bellington Packer of English Quaker descent, and Mary Elizabeth Judkins Packer of New England. Though members of Mrs. Compton's father's family did not actually carry arms in support of the colonies, their participation was effective enough to permit her membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution. Henry Bellington Packer crossed the plains in 1850 and he and his brother, George Fox Packer, mined with some success on the Yuba and along Slate Creek. H. B. Packer then returned to Springfield, Ill., expecting to marry and bring his bride back to California, but after the experiences she had already had on the Illinois frontier, Mrs. Packer "did not," as Mrs. Compton expresses it, "feel like undertaking another." Mr. Packer later became interested in the coal business along the Mississippi. Alvin B. Judkins, however, Mrs. Compton's uncle, came out to Los Angeles and opened a music store at 310 South Spring Street, offering pianos and organs for sale (see *Los Angeles City Directory* for 1894). When Mrs. Compton came out to California, she visited her Los Angeles relatives first, and then went north to stay with her father's brother, George, who, not finding the placers to his liking, had become livestock purchasing-agent for a meat business that he and a partner had established in Downieville. About 1857, he purchased a ranch of some 1700 acres on the Sacramento River, nine miles north of Colusa. Later, he bought 7000 additional acres bordering the Sacramento, four miles north of Princeton. It was while visiting this uncle's family that Mrs. Compton met her future husband. She has written an account of her mother-in-law, entitled "Mary Murdock Compton," which, it is hoped, will appear shortly in the QUARTERLY.

Mrs. William Edwin Gledhill, listed among the new members in the June QUARTERLY, was born in Tacoma, Washington, the daughter of William Ezra and Minnie Gray Bowen, who were married in Sausalito in 1890 and subsequently became residents of Santa Barbara. Mrs. Gledhill's husband is a portrait photographer, whose collection contains likenesses of many of the well-known persons who have come to spend the winter in Santa Barbara from 1911, on. She, herself, is interested in gathering material on her maternal grandfather, Andrew Belcher Gray, chief surveyor for the U. S. commission charged with determining the boundary between this country and Mexico after the Mexican War.

Frederick F. Wessel, also listed in the June QUARTERLY, is the son of Peter Wessel, a Dane, who established himself in business in Chile in 1875. Two years later he was married in San Francisco to the second of eight daughters of Nathaniel Keese Masten, a resident of the bay city since 1850. In that year, Masten's name appears on a legal document (dated October 12, 1850, and now among the John C. Hays Papers in the library of this Society) as witness to the signature of E. W. Burr of Burr, Mattoon & Co., importers and wholesale grocers, Masten being connected with the same firm. Masten's wife was Emelia Antonia von Falkenberg, several members of whose family made Stockton their home. F. F. Wessel was employed, during the last World War, in Beverly Hills by the British Air Commission. Among his many cousins in California is the Reverend Peter Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco.

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Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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Page 33, line 3 from ft., *for* Andrew F. Gray *read* Andrew Belcher Gray

Page 235, bottom line, *for* Lone Hill *read* Laurel Hill

Page 241 (in title), *for* Neal *read* Neall

Page 263, line 12, *for* Arroyo de la Palmas *read* Arroyo de las Palmas

Page 343, line 7 from ft., *for* San Raphael *read* San Rafael

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